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CHAPTER I

NORTHERN MESOPOTAMIA AND SYRIA

I. SHAMSHI-ADAD I

SCARCELY thirty years ago the figure of Hammurabi, the unifier of Babylonia, still stood out in striking isolation. In fact, at the time he ascended the throne another centralized empire already occupied the whole of northern Mesopotamia: it was the personal creation of Shamshi-Adad I, to whom recent discoveries have made it possible to give his place in history.

Whereas Hammurabi had inherited a considerable territory from his father, Shamshi-Adad had more modest beginnings. He belonged to one of the numerous nomad clans which had infiltrated into Mesopotamia after the break-up of the Third Dynasty of Ur. His father, Ila-kabkabu, ruled over a land bordering on the kingdom of Mari, with which he had come into conflict.[1] It is not well known what happened next. According to one version, the authenticity of which is not certain, Shamshi-Adad made his way into Babylonia, while his brother succeeded to Ila-kabkabu. Later on he seized Ekallatum; the capture of this fortress, on the left bank of the Tigris, in the southern reaches of the lower Zab, laid the gates of Assyria open to him.[2] The moment was propitious, for Assyria had only lately regained her independence, having previously had to submit to Naram-Sin of Eshnunna, who had advanced as far as the upper Khabur.[3] But Naram-Sin's conquests had been ephemeral: on his death, Assyria had shaken off the yoke of Eshnunna, only to fall beneath that of Shamshi-Adad. Once installed on the throne of Ashur, the latter soon set about extending his dominion in the direction of the West. Among the archives of the palace of Mari has been found a letter from a prince of the 'High Country' seeking Iakhdunlim's protection.[4] He feels that the encroachments of Shamshi-Adad, who has already taken several of his towns, are a threat to him; until then he had victoriously resisted the attacks of his neighbours from the lands of Aleppo, Carchemish and Urshu. But

[1] G, 6, 207 f., 212.
[2] G, 7, 34 f.; G, 6, 211; §1, 5, 26 f.
[3] G, 6, 8 n. 1.
[4] G, 1, vol. 1, 22, no. 1.

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Iakhdunlim himself was to pass from the scene, assassinated by his own servants,[1] who perhaps acted on Shamshi-Adad's instigation. At all events, he turned the affair to account by occupying Mari, while the heir to the throne, Zimrilim, took refuge with the king of Aleppo. The annexation of Mari represented a considerable gain in territory, for Iakhdunlim had controlled the middle Euphrates valley at least as far as the mouth of the Balīkh.

In possession, from now onwards, of an empire which stretched from the Zagros hills to the Euphrates, Shamshi-Adad shared his power with his two sons.[2] He installed the eldest, Ishme-Dagan, in Ekallatum, with the onerous task of keeping the warlike inhabitants of the mountains in check and of mounting a vigilant guard against the kingdom of Eshnunna, which was to remain his chief enemy. In Mari he left his younger son, Iasmakh-Adad, who would have to exert himself mostly against incursions of nomads from the Syrian steppe.

The correspondence between the king and his two sons recovered at Mari, along with a small collection of archives coming from Tell Shemshāra, the centre of a district government in southern Kurdistan, make it possible to determine the limits of Shamshi-Adad's authority. In the direction of Eshnunna the frontier—if one may speak of 'frontier' at this date—must have run more or less along the 'Adhaim, at least along the Tigris valley, since the eastern marches remained in dispute. Thus it was that Shamshi-Adad had to struggle with Dadusha, the successor of Naram-Sin, for the possession of Qabrā,[3] in the district of Arbela, while the Turukkians made it impossible to retain Shusharra (Tell Shemshāra).[4] Here it was not only the almost continuous hostility of Eshnunna which had to be faced, but the turbulent inhabitants of the foot-hills of the Zagros as well—the Gutians and Turukkians. These last must have been particularly dangerous opponents. On the occasion of a peace treaty Mut-Ashkur, the son and successor of Ishme-Dagan, married the daughter of a Turukkian chieftain called Zaziya,[5] and even Hammurabi of Babylonia did not disdain to seek this man's alliance.[6]

The whole of Upper Mesopotamia proper was in Shamshi-Adad's hands. The Assyrian 'colonies' in Cappadocia were showing renewed activity at that time, but it is not known how far the new ruler's real authority extended in the direction of the

[1] G, 7, 35 n. 28; §1, 3, 63.
[2] §1, 5, 27.
[3] §1, 7, 441. Cf. below, p. 6.
[4] §1, 6, 31.
[5] G, 1, vol. II, 90, no. 40.
[6] G, 1, vol. VI, 54, no. 33.

Anatolian plateau. In the west it must have stopped at the Euphrates, where began the kingdom of Iamkhad, with its capital at Aleppo. When Shamshi-Adad boasts of having erected triumphal stelae on the Mediterranean coast, in the Lebanon,[1] it can have been only upon one of those short-lived expeditions, more economic than military, in the tradition established by Sargon of Agade years before. However, Shamshi-Adad did not neglect to extend his influence so as to neutralize Aleppo. He was in alliance with princes of Upper Syria, notably the prince of Carchemish, and he sealed his good relations with Qatna by a marriage: his son Iasmakh-Adad married the daughter of the king of that city, Ishkhi-Adad.[2] In the south, finally, he dominated the middle Euphrates valley almost to the latitude of Eshnunna.

The empire which Shamshi-Adad had carved out for himself in this way was vast and prosperous. Crossed by several great trade routes, it embraced the prolific Assyrian plain, the humid belt bordering on the Anatolian plateau and the fertile valleys of the Khabur and Euphrates. Naturally, it was coveted to an equal degree by all his neighbours—the half-starved plunderers of the mountains and steppes, and the ambitious monarchs of Aleppo, Eshnunna and Babylon. Shamshi-Adad was to manœuvre through these manifold dangers with clear-sightedness and skill, energy and tenacity. We have seen that he gave his sons the duty of watching the two flanks of his realm. On Ishme-Dagan, who was, like himself, a forceful soldier not afraid to risk his own skin, he could rely unhesitatingly. Nor did he omit to hold him up as an example to his second son, who was far from following in his footsteps. Feeble and hesitant, Iasmakh-Adad more often deserved blame than praise:[3] 'Are you a child, not a man,' his father reproached him, 'have you no beard on your chin?' He tells him some blunt home-truths: 'While here your brother is victorious, down there you lie about among the women....' Ishme-Dagan too does not scruple to admonish his younger brother: 'Why are you setting up a wail about this thing? That is not great conduct.'[4] Later, he suggests, either as a political manœuvre or out of a genuine desire to help his brother, that he should not address himself to the king, their father, directly, but use him as intermediary: 'Write me what you are intending to write to the king, so that, where possible, I can advise you myself.' Elsewhere he exclaims: 'Show some sense.' It is under-

[1] §1, 1, 15.
[2] See below, p. 20.
[3] See §1, 3, 68 f.
[4] G, 1, vol. IV, 96 ff., no. 70.

standable that Shamshi-Adad, whose commendable intention was to school his son for exercising power, should give him advisers who had his confidence and were kept informed of the instructions Iasmakh-Adad received from his father.[1] At the same time, the latter kept his hand on everything. His letters deal not only with questions of high policy, with international relations or military operations, but frequently concern themselves with matters of lesser importance, such as the appointment of officials, caravans or messengers passing through, measures to be taken with regard to fugitives, the watch to be kept on nomads, the despatch of livestock or provisions, boat-building, the projected movements of Iasmakh-Adad, not to mention private matters concerning individuals.

If Shamshi-Adad kept a strict control over things, it was still not his intention to take all initiative away from his sons or officials. For instance, it was for Iasmakh-Adad himself to fill the post of governor of Terqa, or of mayor of the palace at Mari.[2] It was often the matter of his father's complaints: 'How long will you not rule in your own house? Do you not see your brother commanding great armies?'[3] On the other hand, the whole running of affairs did not rest solely on the sovereign's shoulders, for the administrative service was organized on a sound basis at all levels. Each district was entrusted to a governor assisted by other career-officials, all carefully selected on the dual ground of competence and loyalty.[4] Other high officers were specialized, like the one concerned with the preparation of censuses, who was attached to Iasmakh-Adad's 'headquarters'.[5] Chancellery and accounting services were organized with the same concern for efficiency. Fast-moving couriers regularly passed through the land, and Shamshi-Adad often emphasized the urgency of messages which were to be passed. That is why he sometimes dates his letters, a practice uncommon at that time, in certain cases even going so far as to specify the time of day.[6] The king and his sons were always on the move, but the correspondence addressed to them nevertheless ended by being sorted and catalogued in the archive rooms of the central administration. There was the same strictness about the drafting and the keeping of financial docu-

[1] G, 6, 194.
[2] G, 1, vol. 1, 38, no. 9; 120, no. 61.
[3] G, 1, vol. 1, 182, no. 108.
[4] G, 1, vol. 1, 38, no. 9; 52 ff., no. 18; 122, no. 62; 200, no. 120.
[5] G, 6, 194.
[6] G, 1, vol. 1, 42, no. 10; 128, no. 67 (cf. A. L. Oppenheim, *J.N.E.S.* 11 (1952), 131 f.).

ments. Thus, Shamshi-Adad required that detailed accounts should be produced concerning the cost of making silver statues.[1]

Military affairs were naturally organized with no less care than the civil administration. Garrisons, no doubt small in numbers, were permanently stationed in the towns, and troops were levied for each campaign, both from the fixed population and the nomads; the Khanaeans, especially, provided valued contingents. On their return, the men were demobilized. It sometimes happened that they were sent to rest in their homes for a few days between two engagements, and for the same reason, measures were taken to relieve fortress garrisons periodically. Before marching, a list of the men taking part in the campaign was drawn up, and the distribution of provisions was settled. Sometimes troops operated in considerable numbers: for the siege of Nurrugum, the capture of which represented, on the evidence of Shamshi-Adad himself, one of the most important military events of his reign, the figure of 60,000 men is mentioned.[2] Censuses, which involved at the same time purificatory rites and the registering of inhabitants on the army muster-rolls, were instituted sometimes at district level, sometimes throughout the kingdom.[3] Although the Mari texts make no mention of it, the army must have included some specialized personnel in its ranks. It was perfectly equipped for siege-warfare, about which previously our only information was derived from Assyrian sources. All the methods which may be called classic were employed—the throwing-up of encircling ramparts to strengthen the blockade of a besieged town, the construction of assault-banks of compacted earth making it possible to reach the top of fortifications, digging of galleries to undermine walls, and the use of two kinds of siege-engines, the assault-tower and the battering-ram.[4] Preparations for conquests were made far in advance: recourse was had to spies, and a propaganda campaign, carried out by natives who had been bought over, opened the way for the military offensive. The aim was to get the populace to come over to the invader's side of its own accord. Finally, the invading columns were preceded by advance guards, whose duty it was to carry out reconnaissance.[5]

Whether it was to lead his troops into battle in person, or to inspect them, to meet foreign princes, or simply to make sure that

[1] G, 1, vol. 1, 138 ff., no. 74.
[2] See J. Læssøe in *Assyriological Studies*, 16 (1965), 193.
[3] G, 6, 23 ff.
[4] See J.-R. Kupper, *R.A.* 45 (1951), 125 f.
[5] *Ibid.* 123 f.

his orders were carried out intelligently and to keep in working-order the bureaucratic machine he had created, Shamshi-Adad was continually on the move. It cannot really be said that he had a capital. To judge from the letters that have come down to us, he was not often at Ashur or at Nineveh, but preferred living in a city on the upper Khabur, which we must probably look for at the site of Chagar Bazar,[1] where a repository of financial archives has been found.

This city was called Shubat-Enlil in honour of the god of Nippur, who pronounced the names of kings and delivered the sceptre to them. The ambition of Shamshi-Adad was in proportion with his success, and he did not hesitate to proclaim himself 'king of all', a title borne of old by Sargon of Agade. In accordance with this claim he invoked the patronage of Enlil, whose lieutenant he was pleased to style himself, and built a new temple for that god at Ashur.[2] It was probably in the same line of conduct that he repaired the ruins of the temple of Ishtar, built in former days at Nineveh by Manishtusu, and that he dedicated a temple to Dagan in his town of Terqa,[3] for Dagan was the god who had once accepted the worship of Sargon, and granted him in return sovereignty over the 'Upper Country'.

It is not yet possible to write a history of Shamshi-Adad's reign. Thanks to the letters from Mari we know some of its outstanding events, but they give us only momentary glimpses. They are not arranged chronologically, and they cover, irregularly no doubt, only part of the reign, which is said to have lasted thirty-three years in all. Texts were dated in two manners,[4] the Assyrian practice of appointing annual eponyms being much more widely used than the Babylonian system of naming years after an event. Nevertheless, the numerous references to military operations in the king's correspondence indicate that his reign was far from peaceful. One of the principal campaigns had the region of the Lesser Zab as its objective. This ended with the capture of several important towns, notably Qabrā, Arrapkha and Nurrugum.[5] Many operations, conducted with varying fortune against the Turukkians, also took place in the mountainous region of the eastern marches.[6] A most carefully organized expedition was made in order to conquer the land of Zalmaqum, the name given to the region of Harran.[7] Only a few echoes reveal

[1] G, 7, 36; G, 6, 2 ff.
[2] §1, 1, 13 f.
[3] §1, 1, 9 f., 17. See §1, 8, 25 f.
[4] §1, 2, 53 f.
[5] §1, 6, 72 ff.
[6] §1, 5, 28 n. 1.
[7] G, 1, vol. 1, 40, no. 10; 72, no. 29; 110, no. 53; 116 ff., no. 60.

the hostilities with Eshnunna; we know, from a year-name of Dadusha's reign, that he defeated an army commanded by Ishme-Dagan.[1] A series of letters deals with another defensive campaign waged against the armies of Eshnunna, but it is composed only of messages exchanged between Iasmakh-Adad and his brother Ishme-Dagan. All the evidence suggests that these events took place only after their father's death.

Shamshi-Adad, in fact, must have passed from the scene at the height of his career. In Eshnunna, Dadusha's son and successor, Ibalpiel II, called the fifth year of his reign 'the year of Shamshi-Adad's death', which suggests that about this time he had become a dependant of the great king. This is confirmed by a letter in which Ishme-Dagan, having ascended the throne, reassures his brother, saying in particular that he has the Elamites on a leash as well as their ally, the king of Eshnunna.[2] However, Iasmakh-Adad's fears were well-founded. Here the testimonies bear one another out. Several letters recovered at Mari indicate the advance of the troops of Eshnunna; they had reached the Euphrates at Rapiqum, three days' march above Sippar, and were moving upstream. The names of the eighth and ninth years of Ibalpiel II, for their part, commemorate the destruction of Rapiqum and the defeat of the armies of Subartu and Khana, by which we should understand Assyria and Mari.[3] Ishme-Dagan had not been able to come to his brother's aid effectively. No doubt he was engaged elsewhere against other adversaries, for the conqueror's death had certainly spurred all his enemies on to attack his dominions. As soon as he was reduced to his own resources, Iasmakh-Adad, a colourless individual, was doomed to be lost from sight in the storm. The precise circumstances accompanying his downfall are not known. A passage in a letter implies that he was driven out of Mari after a defeat inflicted on his elder brother.[4]

The army of Eshnunna did not get as far as Mari, for Ibalpiel makes no reference to the city's capture. But the representative of the dynasty which had been dispossessed, Zimrilim, took advantage of these events in order to regain the throne of his fathers. He could count on the support of King Iarimlim of Aleppo, who had made him welcome during his long years of exile and had given him his daughter in marriage.[5] Perhaps the defeat suffered by Ishme-Dagan was inflicted on him by troops from Aleppo, who had then expelled Iasmakh-Adad in favour of Zimrilim. In

[1] §I, 7, 440 f.
[2] G, 1, vol. IV, 36, no. 20.
[3] G, 7, 38 f.; §I, 7, 445 ff.
[4] §V, 4, 981 n. 1.
[5] §III, 4, 236 f.

a letter to his father-in-law Zimrilim declares: 'Truly it is my father who has caused me to regain my throne.'[1] It is nevertheless a fact that the king of Eshnunna's campaign had opened the way for Zimrilim's reconquest by invading Shamshi-Adad's former empire from the south.

As for Ishme-Dagan, he succeeded in holding his own, but only in Assyria, losing at one stroke the middle Euphrates and the greater part of Upper Mesopotamia, which either regained its independence or passed under Zimrilim's control.[2] Even the region of the upper Khabur, along with his father's residence Shubat-Enlil, passed out of his hands.[3] He did indeed attempt several counter offensives in this direction, but apparently without success, at least during Zimrilim's reign. We do not know whether he succeeded in regaining a foothold in this portion of his father's heritage after Eshnunna and Mari had fallen under Hammurabi's onslaughts: from that moment our sources fall silent, leaving in obscurity the rest of the reign of Ishme-Dagan, to whom the royal lists give the high total of forty or even fifty years.[4]

To judge from his father's letters Ishme-Dagan seemed nevertheless to have the stature to carry on the work which had been begun. The fact was that the empire Shamshi-Adad bequeathed him was difficult to maintain. It was rich and populous, but lacking in cohesion, formed by a juxtaposition of several quite distinct provinces. Besides, exposed along all its frontiers, its geographical situation made it particularly vulnerable; there was, for example, no direct communication between Mari and Ashur. Hemmed in by powerful and ill-disposed neighbours, Aleppo and Eshnunna, it could not survive the man who had created it by his personal qualities alone, by his unflagging energy, his military genius, and his abilities as an organizer.

II. MARI

Like Shamshi-Adad, Iakhdunlim, his unsuccessful opponent at Mari, was a Western Semite whose forebears had abandoned the nomadic life in order to settle in the Euphrates valley. The origins of his dynasty are obscure. Of his father Iagitlim we know only that he came into conflict with Shamshi-Adad's father, after having been his ally.[5] But it was Iakhdunlim who seems to have laid the foundations of Mari's greatness. In a building-

[1] §III, 4, 235. [2] §I, 5, 29. [3] G, 6, 30.
[4] G, 7, 36; §I, 5, 31. [5] G, 6, 33.

record,[1] which by its flawless material execution and brilliant literary qualities shows how far the sons of the desert had adopted Babylonian culture, Iakhdunlim recalls the triumphant campaign he had waged, as the first of his line, on the Mediterranean coast and in the mountains, from which he had brought back valuable timber, while at the same time forcing the country to pay tribute. It has been seen that Shamshi-Adad boasted that he had done the same thing (above, p. 3), which cannot be considered a real conquest. Moreover, Iakhdunlim's power was not wholly secure in his own territory; he had to withstand both attacks by the petty kings of the middle Euphrates and the incursions of nomads, Benjaminites and Khanaeans. It was against the last of these that he had his most striking successes, imposing his rule on them from that time onwards. Once the country was pacified he was able to build a temple to Shamash and to undertake great irrigation projects, designed, notably, to supply water to a new city. It is a fact, as he himself claimed, that he had strengthened the foundations of Mari.[2] Although his kingdom was shortly to fall into Shamshi-Adad's hands, his work was not in vain, since it was eventually taken up by his son Zimrilim.

The latter did not wait long after the usurper's death to ascend the throne of Mari. We are no more in a position to give an account of the new king's reign than to understand how the reconquest took place. More than thirty year-names have been recovered, but the order of their succession is not known. State correspondence makes it possible to reconstruct certain events, but the constant instability of the political situation in Mesopotamia at this time obliges us to show extreme caution in arranging the letters.

Basically, Zimrilim's kingdom was made up of the middle Euphrates and Khabur valleys. To the south it cannot have reached farther than Hīt. To the north it undoubtedly included the mouth of the Balīkh, but beyond that it is uncertain whether there lay territories directly dependent on Mari and administered by district governors, or simply more or less autonomous vassal princedoms.[3] In his attempts to expand Zimrilim directed the best part of his efforts towards the 'High Country', that is to say Upper Mesopotamia, which in those days was split up into numerous little states. In particular the region, bordering on the upper Khabur, which at Mari was called Idamaraz, appears to have been under his control all the time.[4] But Zimrilim's policy

[1] §II, 2.
[2] G, 6, 33 f.
[3] §II, 4, 163.
[4] G, 1, vol. IX, 348 f.; G, 6, 10.

was to impose his tutelage on the petty monarchs of the 'High Country', or even simply to draw them into alliance with him, rather than to annex their countries—no doubt because he had not the resources to do so. This line of conduct was fairly general. We have only to listen to the report of one of Zimrilim's correspondents: 'No king is powerful by himself: ten or fifteen kings follow Hammurabi, king of Babylon, as many follow Rim-Sin, king of Larsa, as many follow Ibalpiel, king of Eshnunna, as many follow Amutpiel, king of Qatna, twenty kings follow Iarimlim, king of Iamkhad....'[1] Grouping their vassals about them, the 'great powers' of the time entered in their turn into wider coalitions, aiming at supremacy, but these formed and broke up as circumstances and the interests of the moment dictated.

In this changing world, between negotiations and battles, Zimrilim's policy nevertheless kept certain constant factors in view—it remained loyal to the alliances with Babylon and Aleppo. In this the king of Mari obeyed a vital necessity, for his country was above all a line of communication linking Babylon with northern Syria, and he needed to retain the goodwill of the powers which guarded both ends. These powers, for their part, had every interest in protecting the freedom of trade and leaving the burden of doing it to an ally. But once Hammurabi, after unifying Babylonia, felt strong enough to assume control himself and reap the profit from it he did not hesitate to subjugate Mari.

It is understandable that in these conditions political intrigue was extremely vigorous, leading constantly to fresh conflicts. Zimrilim recognizes this in a message which he sends to his father-in-law the king of Aleppo: 'Now, since I regained my throne many days ago, I have had nothing but fights and battles.'[2] The opponents were manifold; first, enemies outside, the most dangerous of whom was Eshnunna, frequently operating in concert with its ally Elam, and not afraid to send its troops into the heart of the High Country.[3] There were also rebellious vassals whose loyalty had to be enforced. Lastly, and perhaps above all, there were the nomads, constantly on watch at the edge of the desert, whom no defeat could disarm once and for all.[4] Zimrilim boasts of having crushed the Benjaminites in the Khabur valley, but a victory like this could, at the most, procure only a momentary respite, for the struggle between nomads and settlers, having its origins in physical conditions, could never cease. Without any respite, new groups came to replace those who had left

[1] G, 3, 117; §III, 4, 230 f.
[2] §III, 4, 235.
[3] See below, p. 15.
[4] See below, pp. 25 ff.

the desert to install themselves in the sown lands. The threat was there each day. Not content with raiding the flocks or plundering the villages, the nomads became bold enough to attack important localities, whether caravan cities or towns on the banks of the Euphrates. The anxiety to ensure the policing of the desert and to contain the movements of the nomads must have been among Zimrilim's main preoccupations. No negligence could be permitted, lest it should be the start of a catastrophic invasion, for every advance of the nomads brought with it an inevitable process of disintegration. Despite the measures taken, security remained precarious. Sometimes it happened that the nomads infested the whole countryside and were brought to a halt only before the ramparts of the towns. The king himself was advised not to leave the capital. Clearly, a struggle like this must have been a considerable embarrassment to Zimrilim's policy, using up his resources and weakening the country's economy.

This state of affairs was certainly not what the country had known in the time of Shamshi-Adad. Relations with the Benjaminites, in particular, had distinctly deteriorated. Shamshi-Adad was at the head of a powerful, centralized state, making the nomads, whose movements he could control over vast areas of land, acutely aware of his authority. Zimrilim, on the other hand, absorbed in exhausting competition with other sovereigns, had relatively limited means at his disposal and reigned over a smaller territory, entirely surrounded by steppe. However, the archives seem to reflect the image of a prosperous, vigorous country. The palace of Mari enrolled a large staff, in which singing girls, for example, are to be counted in tens.[1] We see executives in movement all the time, hurrying in from all the surrounding countries, while reports pour in addressed to the king by his representatives and by the ambassadors he maintains at the principal foreign courts.[2] The inventories bear witness to the wealth of precious things,[3] and the accounts record the arrival of foodstuffs and luxury products, the latter generally sent by kings of neighbouring lands, to whom Zimrilim replied in kind.

Archaeological discoveries have given this picture material form. We have a message in which the king of Aleppo communicates to Zimrilim the wish expressed to him by the king of Ugarit to visit the palace of Mari.[4] This palace is in fact the most remarkable monument that excavations have found there.[5] It is of gigantic proportions. More than 260 chambers, courtyards and

[1] §II, 1, 59. [2] §II, 3, 585 ff.; G, 1, vol. VII, 333.
[3] G, 2, 104. [4] §III, 4, 236. [5] See Plate 65.

corridors have already been counted, arranged according to a plan in the shape of a trapezium, but one part of the building has entirely disappeared; the complete structure must have covered an area of more than six acres. The decoration of the private apartments and some of the reception rooms is up to the standard of this royal architecture. The brilliant art of the fresco-painters is displayed particularly in the great compositions of the central court, leading to the chamber with a *podium* and the throne room. In the scene which has given its name to the main painting, the king is receiving investiture at the hands of the goddess Ishtar, shown in her warlike aspect.[1] The luxurious refinement of the decoration has its counterpart in the comfort of the domestic installations. But the palace was not simply the king's residence; it was also an administrative centre, with a school for training scribes, its archive-repositories, its magazines and workshops.

It is impossible to believe that a building like this could have been the work of a single person. Moreover, the successive stages in the plan or in the construction can be picked out without difficulty. But Zimrilim was responsible for the latest architectural phase and left his mark in the form of bricks inscribed with his name.[2] The occupant of such an imposing palace, which excited the admiration of contemporaries, needed abundant resources, as reading of the records suggests. Hence arises the question of Zimrilim's resources—what did his wealth come from? The reports of his provincial governors reveal the attention paid by the king to agriculture and to the irrigation-works upon which it depended.[3] There was an extensive network of canals, the most important of which (still visible today) had been dug on the orders of Iakhdunlim.[4] These made it possible, at the cost of unremitting efforts, to extend the area under cultivation. But despite their fertility the Euphrates and Khabur valleys, closed in by arid plateaux, are not enough to explain Mari's prosperity, for as a result of a famine, caused no doubt by war, we even find Zimrilim having corn brought from Upper Syria.[5]

The geographical position of Mari provides the answer to our question: the city controlled the caravan-route linking the Persian Gulf with Syria and the Mediterranean coast. Merely to trace the main destinations of trade on the map establishes how much it followed this route. Along it Babylonia received the timber,

[1] See Plate 66.
[2] §11, 10, 169 f.; §11, 8, part 1, 18, 47, 52, and *passim*.
[3] §11, 3, 583 f.; §11, 4, 175 ff.
[4] G, 1, vol. III, 112; G, 6, 33 f.
[5] §III, 4, 235. See also A, 1, 40 f.

stone and resinous substances of Lebanon and the Amanus mountains, the wine and olive-oil of Syria.[1] Other products too reached Mari from more distant countries, perhaps to be re-exported. Thus Zimrilim sends Hammurabi of Babylon some object, or a piece of cloth, coming from Crete.[2] On the other hand the Cypriot copper which is several times mentioned in the accounts,[3] no doubt remained at Mari, because Babylonia had other sources of supply. In any case, the city kept up close relations with the Mediterranean ports of Ugarit and Byblos,[4] and even with Palestine. Babylonian messengers went through Mari on their return from a long stay at Hazor in Galilee.[5] In the other direction, Babylonia had little to export. But she kept up a vigorous flow of trade with Tilmun, the island of Baḥrain, from which she got notably copper and precious stones. An embassage from Tilmun to Shubat-Enlil has been observed returning home by way of Mari—this was in the reign of Shamshi-Adad.[6] Moreover there were other routes, bringing the products of central Asia, which ran into Babylonia. Along one of these lay Susa, another came down the Diyālā valley. It was no doubt by this route that lapis-lazuli, quarried in Afghanistan, was brought. One text does in fact mention lapis-lazuli as coming from Eshnunna.[7] It was also through Mari that the tin imported by Babylonia from Elam passed westwards towards Aleppo, Qatna, Carchemish and Hazor.[8]

The chamber of commerce (*kārum*) of Sippar had good reason to keep a mission in the capital of the middle Euphrates,[9] which was one of the cross-roads of international trade. The numerous stores and repositories of the palace, in which even now rows of enormous jars have been found, bear witness perhaps to Zimrilim's direct participation in this profitable business, without taking into account the revenue he got from it to swell his treasury. In spite of the struggles caused by inter-state rivalries the whole of western Asia at that time shared a common civilization. There was no splitting up into compartments, and despite temporary restrictions men and merchandise could move about from the Persian Gulf to Upper Syria, and from Elam to the Mediterranean coast.

[1] §II, 5, 102 ff.; A, 2, 73 ff.; A, 6, 115.
[2] G, 2, 111.
[3] *Ibid.*
[4] *Ibid.*
[5] G, 1, vol. VI, 110, no. 78.
[6] G, 1, vol. I, 50, no. 17. See §II, 5, 141.
[7] G, 1, vol. IX, 209, no. 254.
[8] G, 1, vol. VII, 337 f.; §II, 5, 123 f.
[9] §II, 5, 106 ff.

It was the prominent part played by Mari in these exchanges which guaranteed its material prosperity and placed Zimrilim on a level footing with the principal sovereigns of his time, permitting him to finance expensive campaigns or to act as intermediary between the kings of Aleppo and Babylon. But in the last analysis, this power was artificial and could give only a false security. The glamour is deceptive, the wonders of Mari more brilliant than solid. Without natural defences and without hinterland, spread out along the Euphrates and Khabur valleys, and plagued by the disturbing proximity of the nomads, the country could not put up any serious resistance to the pressure of a real military power. So long as Hammurabi was kept occupied on other frontiers, he played Zimrilim skilfully, leaving him the profit he gained from his situation as well as the duty of protecting the route to the west. But as soon as his hands were free he changed his policy. Mari was eliminated in two stages, the second ending in the city's occupation and final ruin.[1] Here is the palpable weakness of its position: the middle Euphrates would never again seem a political factor of any importance. Mari's prosperity was vulnerable because it depended to a large extent upon external circumstances. Its high point coincided with a moment of equilibrium, the fortunate conditions of which did not recur. Zimrilim had the merit of turning it to the best possible account.

III. ESHNUNNA, IAMKHAD, QATNA AND OTHER STATES

Among the chief powers of the day enumerated by one of Zimrilim's correspondents[2] are two Syrian kingdoms, Qatna and Iamkhad, and at the other extremity of the Fertile Crescent, in the region beyond the Tigris, the kingdom of Eshnunna. There is good reason for the last of these states figuring on the list: the best proof of this is found in the direct interference of its kings in the affairs of Upper Mesopotamia. Naram-Sin, the first of them, who had gained a foothold in Assyria, penetrated far into the region and seized Ashnakkum, a locality in the district of Upper Idamaraz.[3] This exploit was to have no lasting result for Eshnunna, because Naram-Sin was shortly to be driven out of Ashur by Shamshi-Adad. During the latter's reign relations with Eshnunna were not good,[4] but the theatre of military operations was

[1] See below, p. 28.
[2] See above, p. 10.
[3] See above, pp. 1 and 9.
[4] See above, p. 7.

on the eastern frontiers of Assyria. Ishme-Dagan guarded Ekallatum strongly, and in spite of a defeat inflicted on him by Dadusha, Naram-Sin's brother and successor, he barred the way into Upper Mesopotamia. It has been seen that on Shamshi-Adad's death, Ishme-Dagan reassured his brother Iasmakh-Adad, declaring that he held Elam and Eshnunna on a leash (above, p. 7). The alliance of these two powers was of long standing, for it is frequently recalled in the correspondence of Zimrilim, who seems to credit Elam with the leading role.[1] However, Dadusha's son, Ibalpiel II, who occupied the throne of Eshnunna at that time, was not long in opening hostilities by attacking the weak spot. His troops pushed on as far as the Euphrates, then moved up the valley in the direction of Mari. The campaign ended with the expulsion of Iasmakh-Adad and with Zimrilim's return to the throne of Mari.[2]

It is hard to believe that this was all that Ibalpiel intended, yet the king of Eshnunna does not seem to have exploited his success in any other way. But the dismembering of Shamshi-Adad's empire had freed Upper Mesopotamia. It is in this direction that Eshnunna once again set its sights, managing from time to time to get the co-operation of its former enemy: Ishme-Dagan had held on to Assyria only, and was naturally trying to regain the lands he had lost. The troops of Elam and Eshnunna took again the road to Idamaraz and to the town of Ashnakkum.[3] They laid siege to Razama, a town not yet located; it was in the hands of one of Zimrilim's vassal princes. The prize was important, for Hammurabi of Babylon got reinforcements through to his ally in Mari.[4] Zimrilim's correspondence seldom names the king of Eshnunna, we do not know when Ṣilli-Sin succeeded to Ibalpiel II.[5] But the days of the dynasty were numbered. The 32nd year of Hammurabi's reign takes its name from a great victory won against Eshnunna and its allies. Zimrilim, who was to be the future victim of Babylonian expansion, advised Hammurabi to set himself on the throne of Eshnunna or to designate one of his adherents.[6]

If the armies despatched by Eshnunna were able to advance so far into Upper Mesopotamia, it was no doubt because they had met with support, but also because they had not come up against any organized force. Apart from the time when it was unified under the sceptre of Shamshi-Adad, Upper Mesopotamia

[1] §II, 6, 333 ff.
[2] See above, p. 7.
[3] G, 6, 10 n. 2.
[4] G, 6, 86; §II, 6, 338 ff.
[5] G, 2, 109; §III, 6, 140, 200.
[6] G, 3, 120.

was split up into a series of small principalities. The Mari letters contain references to the kings of Subartu and Zalmaqum and the princes of Idamaraz.[1] The most influential of them, like the kings of Kurda or Nakhur must, at the most, have ruled over a few towns. The humid belt of higher country between the Tigris and Euphrates is rich in agricultural resources, and the numerous *tells* scattered across it, especially in the Khabur 'triangle', reveal how densely it was populated in ancient times. But this proliferation of towns close together is unfavourable to the formation of wide territorial units. Moreover this was a corridor zone, open to migratory movements and to the armies of conquerors.

The Mari documents name some of these petty kings; the majority of them have 'West Semitic' names, the rest Hurrian.[2] About the people themselves we have no information, except at Chagar Bazar, the possible site of Shubat-Enlil.[3] Here the Akkadian element is foremost, exceeding by a clear margin the Hurrians, who themselves outnumber the 'Western Semites'. It is therefore likely that a double stream, originating in the mountainous periphery and the Syrian steppe, had come in and mingled with the old element under Babylonian influence, supplanting it in the political structure.

To find a country which has a place in international relations, even in the second rank, one has to go as far as the Euphrates: this was the kingdom of Carchemish. Hemmed in between the important kingdom of Iamkhad in the south, and that of Urshu in the north, the territory under the sway of Carchemish cannot have been very extensive. But its situation on the great bend of the Euphrates, where the mountains open out, was highly favourable for large-scale trade: it was the gateway to the Taurus and to the Anatolian plateau. That is why its princes sent to Mari not only local products such as wine, honey and olive-oil, and also manufactured articles—clothing and vases—of unknown provenance, but cedar-wood from the Amanus mountains and horses bred in Anatolia.[4]

In the interests of both cities relations between Mari and Carchemish were always friendly, although the two participants cannot have dealt with one another as equals. It is known that exchanges of gifts between sovereigns were only a form of trade, but Aplakhanda of Carchemish showed himself remarkably atten-

[1] G, 1, vol. II, 80, no. 35; vol. III, 60, no. 37; G, 3, 109; §II, 10, 173; §V, 4, 986, 992. See also G, 1, vol. IX, 346 ff.

[2] G, 6, 230 n. 1.

[3] G, 6, 229.

[4] G, 1, vol. VII, 337; vol. IX, 346; §III, 1, 119 f.; §III, 2, 48; §II, 5, 103.

tive in fulfilling the wishes of Iasmakh-Adad. He calls Shamshi-Adad his father, and, on the latter's evidence, joined in his alliance.[1] The change of régime at Mari did not make any difference to the good relations. On Aplakhanda's death his son Iatar-ami made a declaration of fidelity to Zimrilim, which reveals his position as a vassal.[2]

In fact, the position of Carchemish on the borders of one of the most important states of the time, the kingdom of Iamkhad, or of Aleppo, from the name of its capital, was peculiarly delicate. While other sovereigns could reckon between ten and fifteen vassals, twenty princes followed Iarimlim, the first king of Iamkhad whose memory has been preserved in the letters of Zimrilim. Little is known of his country's history before him. A certain Sumuepu' of Iamkhad is named among the opponents of Zimrilim's father Iakhdunlim. He is referred to several times in the correspondence of Shamshi-Adad, who launched an attack on him with the help of the princes of Khashshum, Urshu and Carchemish. Some have therefore proposed to see in him a king of Iamkhad preceding Iarimlim,[3] but neither Iakhdunlim nor Shamshi-Adad gives him the royal title, and the latter does not even mention the land of Iamkhad in connection with him.

At all events, the Aleppo monarchy was well-established before Zimrilim's return to Mari, for it was in Aleppo that the latter found sanctuary during his exile, and it was owing to the support of Iarimlim, who had become his father-in-law in the meantime, that he was able to reconquer his paternal throne. The letters of Shamshi-Adad's time practically ignore Aleppo and the land of Iamkhad, but this was not on account of the distance, for Shamshi-Adad maintained excellent relations with the king of Qatna, who was another Syrian prince. It is probable that there was some hostility between Iarimlim—or his predecessor—and Shamshi-Adad. As the latter did not seek to enlarge his empire on the right bank of the Euphrates at the expense of his western neighbour, one may conclude that he had there a serious opponent. Perhaps it was as much in order to contain this neighbour as to find an opening on to the Mediterranean that Shamshi-Adad had concluded an alliance with Qatna.

It would seem that the kingdom of Iamkhad was at the height of its power under Iarimlim, although it is often difficult for us to make a distinction between his reign and that of his successor Hammurabi. As regards Iarimlim there is no lack of evidence

[1] §III, 8, 28. [2] §III, 1, 120.
[3] §III, 8, 44 ff.; §VII, 4, 114.

to bear witness to his prestige and power. We need only observe the marked deference Zimrilim shows him,[1] the report already quoted in which he appears as the foremost sovereign of his age (above, p. 10), and a letter addressed to the prince of Dēr, recovered at Mari where it had been held up in transit.[2] In this message, Iarimlim reminds his 'brother' that he had saved his life fifteen years before, at the time when he was coming to the help of Babylon, and that he had also given his support to the king of the town of Diniktum, on the Tigris, to whom he supplied five hundred boats. Outraged by the prince of Dēr's ingratitude he threatens to come at the head of his troops and exterminate him. The campaign thus recalled by the king of Aleppo took place in the north of Babylonia and in the region beyond the Tigris, as far as Badrah, the modern site of Dēr. The only opponent it can have had seems to be Eshnunna, and it might have been a counter to Ibalpiel II's advance along the Euphrates. In that case, it would be as a consequence that Zimrilim returned to Mari. Whatever the circumstances of the expedition were, it says a great deal for the military power of Iarimlim, who led the soldiers of Aleppo as far as the borders of Elam.

The assistance which Iarimlim had given to Babylon explains the consideration Hammurabi showed to the ambassadors of Aleppo at his court.[3] The friendly understanding survived the decease of Iarimlim, for his son Hammurabi was persuaded to send a contingent of troops to his namesake in Babylon.[4] It is likely enough that the new king's reign was less brilliant than his father's, although Zimrilim's more relaxed demeanour is not proof of this. The consolidation of his authority and the prevailing prosperity he had brought about may have given Zimrilim more assurance, besides the fact that he was now dealing with a younger prince. The king of Mari went to Aleppo again in the time of Hammurabi, but perhaps his veneration for Adad, the great god of Aleppo, had something to do with his journey.[5] There was never a break in the friendly relations between Aleppo and Mari: letters and accounts reveal messengers making frequent journeys in both directions and numerous 'presents' exchanged by the two courts.[6]

The kingdom of Iamkhad occupied a privileged position for trading relations. To the east it bordered on the Euphrates; to the west it stretched as far as the Mediterranean coast, if not

[1] §III, 4, 235 f.; §III, 8, 56.
[2] §III, 3.
[3] §III, 4, 232.
[4] §III, 8, 62.
[5] §III, 2, 49; §III, 4, 233.
[6] §III, 4, 236 f.; §III, 8, 58, 64 f.

directly, at least through the intermediary of a vassal state. It was through Aleppo that merchandise imported by sea, bound for either the upper Tigris or for Babylonia and the Persian Gulf, entered Mesopotamia. Caravans and travellers going from Babylonia to Syria or Palestine were obliged to pass through territory belonging to Aleppo, if they wished to avoid the dangers of the desert route through Palmyra. In exchange for tin Aleppo sent much the same commodities as Carchemish—clothes, vases and local products.[1] The city must also have served as a staging-post for copper from Cyprus and luxury goods from the Aegean.[2] It is known from other evidence that there were herds of elephants in northern Syria, and tusks have been found in the palace of Alalakh, a town on the lower Orontes, on the way from Aleppo to the coast.[3] It is therefore likely that the profitable ivory trade was controlled by the kings of Aleppo, whose power was based at once on the economic prosperity of their country and on its pivotal strategic position between the Mediterranean world and Mesopotamia.

The few names of persons at Aleppo so far recovered can be assigned to the 'West Semitic' category.[4] Nevertheless, the tablets discovered at Alalakh have established that there must have been Hurrians in Upper Syria at this time. Indeed, the oldest group of tablets, which is about half a century later than the Mari documents, gives us a glimpse of a society in which the Hurrian element occupied an important position and revealed its presence in various fields.[5] This presupposes that the Hurrian penetration was already of relatively long standing. A further indication is to be found in the Hurrian names of several of the princes of Upper Mesopotamia. None the less at Aleppo, as at Babylon and Mari, the royal power was in the hands of Amorites.

An Amorite dynasty also ruled over the neighbouring kingdom of Qatna. The city of Qatna stood at the centre of a district rich in cereals, the plain of Homs, where the vine and olive-tree also flourished. It was at one extremity of the caravan-route running from the Euphrates through Palmyra, and its communications with the sea were secured by the Tripoli pass, which cleaves its way between the Lebanon and the Anṣāriyyah mountains. Numerous ancient *tells* survive in this area to bear witness to the importance of Qatna. To the east a belt of pasture-land, frequented even today by sheep-rearing tribes, forms the transition

[1] G, I, vol. VII, 337 f.; vol. IX, 346; §III, 2, 48.
[2] See above, p. 13.
[3] §VII, 10, 102; §VII, 11, 74 f.
[4] §III, 4, 237 f.; G, 6, 232 f.
[5] See below, p. 23.

between the lands under cultivation and the desert steppe, stretching as far as the Euphrates valley; the Mari letters refer to the rich pastures of the land of Qatna.[1] How far the kingdom extended to west and south is not known.

The two states of Aleppo and Qatna appear to have developed almost simultaneously. We are better informed about the history of the second during the reign of Shamshi-Adad because he was the ally of Ishkhi-Adad, who occupied the throne of Qatna at that time. The agreement between the two monarchs had been sealed by a marriage, Iasmakh-Adad, the viceroy of Mari, having married Ishkhi-Adad's daughter.[2] Co-operation was political and military as well as economic. There were frequent movements of troops between Mari and Qatna, and it seems likely that a detachment from Mari was stationed in the Syrian town.[3] The presence of these foreign soldiers at Qatna does not seem to indicate a relation of dependence, for Ishkhi-Adad himself insists on their being sent, and invites his son-in-law to take part in an expedition which seems likely to yield some spoils.[4] It was Shamshi-Adad who had taken the first steps towards the marriage, stressing to his son that the house of Qatna had a 'name'. He also dealt on level terms with Ishkhi-Adad, whom he called his brother.[5]

The end of Ishkhi-Adad's reign is still obscure. Committed as he was to the 'Assyrian' alliance his position must have been considerably weakened by the crumbling of Shamshi-Adad's empire. From then onwards he could rely only on his own forces to defend himself against his powerful northern neighbour, the king of Aleppo, who, for his part, helped Zimrilim to evict Iasmakh-Adad from Mari. It is possible that another faction then gained power in Qatna. At all events a new name appears in Zimrilim's correspondence, that of Amutpiel, who had therefore succeeded to Ishkhi-Adad in the interval. Owing to a change of political trend, or merely to its very favourable geographical situation, Qatna seems to have been able to recover its position quickly. The city maintained constant relations with Mari, from which it obtained tin, and a succession of messengers journeyed in both directions.[6] With its prosperity founded on trade, Mari had every interest in being on good terms with the important city of the middle Orontes on the other side of the Syrian desert. It was no doubt Zimrilim in person who worked for a reconciliation between the former enemies, Qatna and Aleppo, and the

[1] G, 6, 179; §III, 5, 422.
[2] §III, 4, 231; §III, 5, 417.
[3] §III, 8, 76 f.
[4] §III, 5, 420 f.
[5] §III, 8, 80.
[6] G, 1, vol. VII, 337 f.; §III, 8, 83.

treaty restoring peace was concluded in Aleppo.[1] This step need not be interpreted as a gesture of submission on the part of the king of Qatna. His multifarious diplomatic relations with Mari, Babylon, Larsa, Eshnunna, Arrapkha and even Susa[2] fully establish his independence. Iarimlim of Aleppo no doubt had a greater number of vassals at his disposal, but in this respect Amutpiel could rival Hammurabi, Rim-Sin or Ibalpiel.[3] Qatna was looked upon during his reign as one of the great capitals of the Fertile Crescent.

Immediately to the south of Qatna, it seems, began the country of Amurru, which was divided up between several petty kings.[4] The name of Damascus has not yet appeared in the Mari documents. The town of Apum, in which some have proposed to find Damascus under the name known from the Amarna letters,[5] also figures in the Cappadocian tablets; it must have been in Upper Mesopotamia.[6] Syria really occupied a peripheral position in relation to Mari, and since the Mari documents are the only source for this period at our disposal, information is spasmodic and fragmentary. It naturally becomes more scarce the farther one gets from the Euphrates. Of the coastal towns, only two are mentioned in the Mari texts, Ugarit and Byblos. The first does not seem to have had any direct relations with Mari, for it is through the king of Aleppo, whose ally or vassal he was, that the king of Ugarit expresses his wish to visit Zimrilim's palace.[7] Byblos, which had contacts with Mesopotamia from the time of the Third Dynasty of Ur,[8] is often encountered, especially in financial documents.[9] Its messengers accompanied those of Aleppo and Qatna, and the king of the city gave Zimrilim a golden vase. The name of this king, Iantin-Khamu, is 'West Semitic', as are also those of his predecessors, known to us from objects discovered in their tombs.[10] A dynastic seal, still used by the kings of Ugarit in the fourteenth and thirteenth centuries, proves that 'West Semitic' kings ruled over the city at about the beginning of the First Dynasty of Babylon.[11] Adding these facts to the information supplied by the Egyptian execration texts, we may conclude that the Amorites had succeeded in imposing themselves everywhere, even in Palestine, to the west of the Syrian

[1] §III, 5, 423. [2] §III, 8, 83. [3] See above, p. 10.
[4] G, 6, 179. See now G. Dossin in *R.S.O.* 32 (1957), 37.
[5] Cf. G, 7, 115 n. 234.
[6] See M. Falkner in *Arch. f. Or.* 18 (1957), 2.
[7] §III, 4, 236; §III, 8, 69.
[8] See E. Sollberger in *Arch. f. Or.* 19 (1959–60), 120 ff.
[9] G, 2, 111. [10] §III, 8, 88. [11] G, 6, 235.

desert.[1] This conquest is not merely of political significance. It must have helped to make Syria look towards Mesopotamia and play a more intimate part in the common civilization which had developed there in this period.

IV. THE HURRIANS *c.* 1800 B.C.

The Hurrians had already penetrated into northern Mesopotamia in the Sargonic period. However, under the Third Dynasty of Ur, their main centres of population were still to the east of the Tigris. The situation does not appear to have changed during the period of the Mari documents. A tablet from the Chagar Bazar excavations contains a list of workers in the palace of Ekallatum, where more than half of the names are Hurrian.[2] At Shusharra, on the lower Zab, to the south-east of Rania, the majority of the population was Hurrian.[3] Probably on Shamshi-Adad's death the town had to be abandoned under pressure from the Turukkians.[4] One of the chiefs of the latter, Zaziya, has a name which appears to be Hurrian; two other Turukkians mentioned in a letter from Mari answer to names which certainly are such.[5] It is conceivable, therefore, that the whole warlike race of Turukkians, which lived on the slopes of the Zagros and entered into conflict with Hammurabi himself, belonged to the Hurrian family.

For Upper Mesopotamia the Mari documents yield the names of a score of princes, the majority of them 'West Semitic'. Four or five of them, however, are Hurrian, like Adalshenni of Burundum and Shukru-Teshub of Elakhut.[6] In some cases, therefore, the advance of the Hurrian population achieved political ascendency. This did not necessarily mean that the country had to be densely occupied. At Chagar Bazar, the only place where we can take a test of the personal names, the Hurrians must have constituted a little less than a third of the population, the Akkadian section supplying the biggest contingent.[7] Apart from Harran, where the king was an Amorite, none of the towns in which the princes in question reigned has been definitely located. For this reason it is not known where in Upper Mesopotamia the Hurrian principalities lay, whether grouped together or scattered across the whole region.

In Syria power was generally in the hands of the Amorites, but Hurrians had nevertheless crossed the Euphrates and conquered

[1] Cf. §v, 5, 38 f. [2] G, 6, 227 f. [3] §1, 6, 75.
[4] G, 1, vol. IV, 44, no. 25. Cf. §1, 6, 31. [5] §1, 6, 73; G, 6, 232 n. 1.
[6] G, 6, 230 n. 1. See now A. Finet, *R.A.* 60 (1966), 17 ff. [7] G, 6, 229.

some territories on the right bank. The principalities they occupied, like Khashshum and Urshu[1] were situated to the north of Aleppo, between the river and the foot-hills which prolong Mount Casius and the Amanus. Here the division between the Hurrian and the Amorite zones may have been fairly close to the limit which today separates the Kurdish from the Arabic-speaking inhabitants.

This geographical division holds good only on the political plane, for it is probable that the Hurrian population had already swarmed farther southwards. Our evidence on this point is very poor, only a few names of royal messengers from Aleppo and Qatna, all 'West Semitic'.[2] On the other hand, we have in the Alalakh tablets a more recent source which nevertheless allows us to make an instructive comparison. These tablets divide up into two main groups, the older (level VII) going back to the time of the First Dynasty of Babylon. In the society there described the Hurrians appear to be firmly established. Leaving aside the throne, on which there are Amorites, they occupy high civil and religious offices, while the religious practices bear traces of their presence. The texts contain a number of Hurrian terms, particularly in technical matters, and certain indications suggest that possibly Hurrian was the language of the scribes.[3] Such a state of affairs makes it necessary to push the beginnings of Hurrian penetration back to a more remote date. Between these texts, however, and the Mari documents, there is a gap which we shall see reason to estimate as at least fifty years.[4] The second group of Alalakh tablets (level IV), which belongs to the fifteenth century, reveals a society Hurrianized in every respect; the 'West Semitic' element represents no more than a tiny minority.[5] The Hurrian advance had therefore persisted and gathered force in the interval between the two groups, but it must already have been in progress at the time the tablets of level VII were written. The deed by which king Abbael of Aleppo cedes the town of Alalakh to his vassal Iarimlim shows that the great Hurrian goddess Khepat had been accepted into the official religion at this time.[6] The existence, during Zimrilim's reign, of Hurrian kingdoms in the north of Syria is another pointer tending to prove that the Hurrian expansion in Upper Syria had begun at the time of the Mari documents.

It is now possible for us to appreciate the scope of the Hurrian

[1] G, 2, 109. See also A, 5, 258 ff.
[2] G, 6, 232 f., 236.
[3] G, 6, 234 f.; §v, 5, 39.
[4] See below, p. 31.
[5] G, 8, 9. See also below, p. 35.
[6] See below, p. 41.

movement as a whole about 1800 B.C. The heaviest concentrations can be observed to the east of the Tigris, but there are also Hurrians in Upper Mesopotamia, where they control several small states, and they have gained a foothold on the western bank of the Euphrates. It looks as if, coming from a generally north-easterly direction, the Hurrians moved down in ever-increasing numbers from the mountainous border of the Fertile Crescent, and advanced to meet the Amorites, who for their part had come out of the Syrian steppe. At Chagar Bazar, in the heart of Upper Mesopotamia where the two streams meet, it is the Hurrians who come off best. On the other hand, to the south, at Mari, on the edge of the desert, the Amorites are completely triumphant. There the Hurrians play hardly any part, although a few religious texts written in Hurrian have been discovered in the palace,[1] and a fragment of a letter indicates that the language was understood in Zimrilim's chancellery.[2] On the other side of the desert, at Qatna, the situation must have been roughly the same as at Mari, while at Aleppo and Alalakh the Hurrians made their presence felt more markedly.

V. THE BENJAMINITES AND OTHER NOMADS, AND THE HABIRU

The steppe occupies a great part of the territories now under consideration. The valley of the Euphrates, which separates Syria from Mesopotamia, is but a fertile ribbon unrolling along a desert landscape. Between the land under cultivation and the desert proper, the limits of which are determined by the annual rainfall, stretches a belt of steppe on which the flocks of nomads find enough to support them. To the west of the Euphrates, this belt goes down as far as the region of Palmyra; to the east, it takes in the region traversed by the Balīkh and the Khabur.

In fact, the people in question were semi-nomads. Nomadic life in the full meaning of the word depends on the use of the camel. At the period now reached, the camel was still unknown.[3] The herdsmen were sheep-rearers, who move slowly from one place to another, and cannot go too far away from the rivers or watering-places. They generally have more or less precarious settlements in the valleys, to which they have to return to work at seed-time and harvest. Living on the edge of the desert in this way, close to the cultivated lands, these were in permanent contact

[1] See below, p. 40.
[2] Cf. E. Laroche in *R.A.* 51 (1957), 104 ff.
[3] G, 6, x; §v, 5, 27.

with the settled population, and gradually many of them allowed themselves to become rooted to the soil and ended by joining the ranks of the peasants, while, unremittingly, other groups formed behind them.

As has been established by study of the names, all the tribes at this time were closely related. They belong to the great complex of 'West Semitic' peoples commonly called 'Amorites', who had originally come out of the Syrian desert. After the fall of the Third Dynasty of Ur they had spread into Babylonia and as far as the other side of the Tigris, leaving traces of their settlement in the place-names and founding new dynasties. Advance guards had broken into the old Babylonian cities in earlier years, and had peopled the towns along the desert which bordered the rivers, but the mass of nomads, constantly recruited, nevertheless continued to wander across the steppes of Syria and Upper Mesopotamia, keeping up unremitting pressure on the fixed population. The most vivid evidence of this is to be found in the Mari documents.

Pre-eminent among this turbulent population, which the texts have made known to us, are the Benjaminites.[1] They were scattered over a wide expanse of territory, their encampments spread out along the Euphrates, but they were continually on the move between the river banks and the pasture-lands of Upper Mesopotamia, and were especially active in the region of Harran. Their grazing-routes also led them over to the right bank of the Euphrates, and sometimes they took their flocks to feed on the western fringe of the Syrian desert, in the lands of Aleppo, Qatna and Amurru. The Benjaminites in fact formed a vast confederation, made up of a number of tribes. Four of them are known to us; two of them gave their names to the localities of Sippar-Amnanu and Sippar-Iakhruru, while Sin-kashid, founder of a dynasty at Uruk, came of the Amnanu tribe.

At the head of the Benjaminites were shaikhs and, occasionally, 'kings', that is, war-chiefs, a distinction which also exists among the Bedouin.[2] Their relations with the settlers were most frequently strained, if not openly hostile, especially during Zimri-lim's reign. The reports which that king received about them talk of surprise attacks, assaults on towns, suspicious gatherings which might degenerate into general insurrection. The Benjaminites were continually making raids which sometimes took on

[1] §v, 4; G, 6, 47 ff.; G, 1, vol. VII, 224. This name has been retained as quasi-traditional, but it would be more exact to call them 'Iaminites'; cf. §v, 3, 49, and §v, 5, 37 f.

[2] G, 6, 59; §v, 6, 120.

considerable proportions. Moreover, the petty kings of northern Mesopotamia and even the king of Eshnunna himself did not hesitate to take sides with them. There were times when the only places of safety were inside the towns. In this struggle, naturally, setbacks alternated with successes. In one of his date-formulae Zimrilim commemorated the severe defeat he inflicted on the Benjaminites at Sagaratim, in the Khabur valley, massacring their leaders. But, by its very nature, the conflict was unending, and faced with opponents like this, who were as tenacious as they were elusive, the established authority could never relax its vigilance.

The Benjaminites, moreover, were not the only ones threatening the peace. To the west of the Euphrates the danger came from the Sutians,[1] who dominated the Syrian desert. The Sutians have long been identified as scattered intruders into Babylonia at the time of the First Babylonian Dynasty, but we now learn where the main body of this people, which also included several tribes,[2] was to be found. According to the Mari correspondence, the Sutians were bold and inveterate plunderers. Their activities extended over the whole Syrian steppe and along the edge of the desert beside the Euphrates, as far as the approaches to Babylonia. Like the Benjaminites, they were not afraid to attack towns—now a locality situated on the Euphrates, downstream from 'Anah, now a staging-post on the route from Palmyra to Damascus, now they would take it into their heads to raid the great caravan city of Palmyra itself. They sometimes operated in strength, for Iasmakh-Adad was warned that a body of 2000 Sutians was on the march towards the Qatna region. It is rare for the texts to record peaceful relations.

There is less to be told about other similar peoples. Some of them were perhaps related to the Benjaminites, like the Rabbians,[3] who lived in the Iamkhad region and were called brothers of the Benjaminites. From their name, the Benē-sim'āl,[4] that is to say 'sons of the north', seem to be a group analogous to the Benjaminites, 'sons of the south'. Until now, they have been seldom encountered, and only in the 'High Country'. Their disposition appears to have been more friendly. About the Numkha and Iamutbal tribes[5] we know hardly anything, but it is interesting to note that there were still groups of these peoples moving about the middle Euphrates in this period, at a time when other groups had long ago given their names to localities on the left bank of the Tigris.

[1] G, 6, 83 ff.; G, 1, vol. VII, 224.
[2] §v, 7, 198.
[3] G, 6, 53.
[4] G, 6, 54 f.; A, 5, 258 ff.
[5] G, 6, 216 f.

About the Khanaeans, on the other hand, whose history is intimately bound up with that of the kingdom of Mari, there is a great deal of information.[1] They were established in strength in the Euphrates and Khabur valleys, for the district of Terqa alone, between Mari and the mouth of the Khabur, could muster several thousands. They were found in Upper Mesopotamia, particularly in the grassy steppes extending between the Balīkh and the upper Khabur. They too were semi-nomadic, but already on the way to fixed habitation, transferring from their encampments on the steppe to their settlements on the banks of the Euphrates, where they occupied land granted by 'the Palace' in reward for their services. The Khanaeans were in fact soldiers by profession, for they had taken armed service with the kings of Mari ever since Iakhdunlim had succeeded in subduing them. They are found mounting guard in the palace, manning local garrisons, keeping order in the desert, and serving in all campaigns. A few minor incidents apart, they seem to have done their duty loyally. They were completely under the control of the central power, and their shaikhs were unobtrusive, though their tribal organization was respected; in their quarters, the Khanaean troops were grouped by their clans, of which about ten are known. The important part played by the Khanaeans at Mari earned their name the privilege of being used occasionally, by extension, for all the 'Western Semites' in the kingdom. The possibility that it sometimes had the general meaning of 'nomads' is not excluded.[2]

A final group was formed by the Habiru.[3] Gathered in battle formations, the Habiru plundered towns, or else fought intermittently for the petty kings of the 'High Country'. Their field of operations was chiefly in the west of Upper Mesopotamia, that is, in the territory bounded by the Euphrates and the upper Khabur. Later on, during the reign of King Irkabtum of Aleppo, we find them making their appearance in Syria as well.

As regards the name Habiru, despite numerous studies devoted to it, a lively controversy still subsists, but the idea that it bore an ethnic signification is more and more abandoned. The Mari tablets have accentuated this by showing that Habiru could be recruited among 'West Semitic' nomads, for a Sutian and men belonging to the tribe of Iamutbal are designated as Habiru. Consequently it seems that the Habiru do not form a distinct group within the great nomad family. Their name has a descriptive sense, but its origin and significance are unknown. Its

[1] G, 6, 1 ff.; A, 6, 107.
[2] §v, 5, 37.
[3] G, 6, 249 ff.; §v, 2, 18 ff., 26; §v, 7.

applications certainly varied according to time and place,[1] but at the time of the Mari documents it denoted bands of 'free companions' who devoted themselves to brigandàge and spread disorder in Upper Mesopotamia.

VI. HAMMURABI'S CONQUESTS IN THE NORTH AND THE DECLINE OF THE EASTERN AMORITE STATES

The diplomatic archives discovered at Mari say nothing about the circumstances of the sudden rupture between Hammurabi and Zimrilim. Even with an inkling of the underlying reason,[2] we still do not know the train of events which was to bring about the ruin of Mari. Only the list of regnal years of the Babylonian monarch has preserved the memory of a victory over Mari (date-formula for the 33rd year), then, two years later, of the dismantling of the city (date-formula for the 35th year). It is probable that in the intervening time Zimrilim had sought a retrial of his lost cause either by resort to arms or in the diplomatic field. The first defeat, however, had been severe. It had been followed by an occupation which left its mark in the form of military registers and labels of tablet-baskets, dated in the 32nd year of Hammurabi.[3] While the conqueror's soldiers were quartered in the city, therefore, the officials who had come with them were rearranging the palace archives.

The Babylonian conquest cannot have finished its course at Mari. The 33rd year of Samsuiluna is dated from works which Hammurabi's successor had carried out at Sagaratim, an important locality on the Khabur, which had previously been the principal town of a province dependent on Mari.[4] From this it will be deduced that Hammurabi had annexed all the territory of Zimrilim's former kingdom to his empire. But did he advance any farther in the direction of the 'High Country'? To the northwest he ran the risk of coming into conflict with the land of Iamkhad, because the disappearance of Mari certainly prompted the kings of Aleppo to extend their influence on the left bank of the Euphrates. In the north it is sometimes allowed that Hammurabi got as far as Diyārbakr, but this statement is unfounded.[5] If he seized Assyria, while Ishme-Dagan took refuge somewhere, it was by going up the Tigris valley.

[1] See §v, 1, 131. [2] See above, p. 10. [3] G, 6, 40 n. 1.
[4] §vi, 3, 22. [5] G, 6, 176 n. 2.

A thick veil now falls over Upper Mesopotamia. For the Amorite principalities which dominated the greater part of the country in Zimrilim's time, that silence was to be final; one after the other they were to be engulfed in the Hurrian tide. When the darkness disperses, nearly three centuries later, it is the Hurrian state of Mitanni which emerges in full power.[1] As for Mari, the town survived, but went into a complete decline. The land of Khana which was subsequently born out of the ruins of its kingdom adopted Terqa, about forty-five miles north of Mari, as its centre.[2] Terqa, formerly the chief town of a district during Zimrilim's reign, housed the principal sanctuary of Dagan, the supreme god of the middle Euphrates. The official title of the sovereigns of Mari comprised a threefold designation: 'King of Mari, Tuttul, and the land of Khana.'[3] The town of Mari, abandoned as the capital, could no longer count, while Tuttul was certainly not under the new princes' control. Of the old title, all that was left was the land of Khana, which was identified with the Mari region and took its name from the Khanaeans established there.

The history of this kingdom of Khana, which might help to clear up some greater problems of chronology, is still very confused. It is known only from a small group of documents which have preserved the names of six sovereigns,[4] and there is uncertainty about the exact period to which they should be assigned. To judge from the script they are scarcely different from the Mari tablets, though they do reveal certain divergences in the utilization of signs, and they employ values of signs attested only at a more recent date. The most reliable criterion seems to be provided by the seals imprinted upon them. The collection of seal cylinders and cylinder imprints recovered at Mari now offers a sound basis for comparison. The glyptic art of Mari follows the Babylonian classical tradition fairly closely, but tends to diverge towards the so-called Syrian style.[5] The seals on the tablets from Khana display different characteristics, either the style peculiar to the end of the First Babylonian Dynasty or the style heralding the Kassite period.[6] Clearly, therefore, there is a break in the glyptic tradition. It can be explained both by a new impulse, due no doubt to a lengthy Babylonian occupation, and by a certain separation in time.

The order of succession of the six princes of Khana is itself

[1] See below, p. 37.
[2] §II, 4, 154 ff.
[3] G, 6, 30.
[4] See G, 5, 63 f.; §VI, 2, 205.
[5] §II, 8, part 3, 248 ff.
[6] G, 5, 63 f.

uncertain. It is probable that they followed one another fairly rapidly on the throne, like the kings of the first 'West Semitic' dynasties in Babylonia. In any case, the documents belong to the same period, and from the names preserved, the population seems stable. With one exception, the royal names are 'West Semitic'—Ammimadar, Hammurapi', Isikh-Dagan, Isharlim, Shunukh-rammu. In the population as a whole the Akkadian element predominates. There are no Hurrian names and no Kassite names apart from that of a king Kashtiliash.[1] The latter followed the same traditions as the other kings of Khana. According to the Babylonian custom he named one of his regnal years after an act of social justice (*mīšarum*), and he took oath by the gods Shamash, Dagan and Iturmer.[2] Nothing in these documents lends support to the hypothesis of a real Kassite kingdom established in the middle Euphrates valley. From his name Kashtiliash must have been connected with the family which seized power in Babylonia, and thus, in spite of certain difficulties, he may be taken as the last known king of the dynasty of Khana.[3]

Born out of Babylonia's weakness, the land of Khana was doomed to a proportionate mediocrity as the decadence of Babylonia itself became more pronounced, bringing with it the closing up of the roads. At the other end of the great river-way, the Hittites were shortly to intervene in Upper Syria. The small kingdom of the middle Euphrates was fated to disappear in the upheaval caused by the encroachments of the Hittites and the advance of the Hurrians whose empire progressively extended over the whole of Northern Mesopotamia.

VII. THE 'GREAT KINGSHIP' OF ALEPPO

Until the discovery of the Alalakh tablets, the history of Syria at the time of Hammurabi's successors in Babylon was unknown. It was clear, however, that the city of Aleppo had continued to play the same dominant role as in the days of Zimrilim. The famous treaty, known as the Treaty of Aleppo, concluded between Murshilish II and Talmi-Sharruma of Aleppo in the fourteenth century B.C., gives the history of relations between Aleppo and the Hittites. It recalls, in particular, that in former years the kings of the land of Aleppo had a 'great kingship', to which Khattushilish, the great king of the land of Khatti, had put

[1] Cf. G, 7, 64. [2] Texts quoted in G, 5, 64.

[3] Cf. G, 5, 65. In this detail we suggest an order differing from the scheme of this *History*.

an end; after him, his grandson Murshilish had ruined the kingship and country of Aleppo.[1] The term 'great kingship' is significant, for it tells us that the Hittites considered the kings of Aleppo as their equals.

The chronology of the Alalakh texts is not yet definitely established. Most of the tablets of the earlier group (level VII) were found in a chamber adjoining the central court of the palace,[2] so it is certainly a collection of archives. They cover the reigns of two princes of Alalakh, Iarimlim and his son Ammitaqum. This is a normal span for administrative archives and it fits the archaeological observations, which assign only a fairly short life to level VII.[3] But for the same length of time the documents name six kings of Aleppo, who succeed each other mostly, if not all, in a direct line. It is likely that the first of these, Abbael, was nearing the end of his reign when he handed over Alalakh to Iarimlim. On the other hand Hammurabi II, the last but one of his successors, must have had but a short reign, for he is known only by a few tablets dated in his accession-year.[4] But the pair Hammurabi and Samsuiluna alone occupied the throne of Babylon for eighty-one years. By assigning the maximum to the reigns of Iarimlim and Ammitaqum one might probably allow them seventy-five years, so it is not impossible to include within the same span the end of Abbael, the four kings who succeeded him, and the first years of Iarimlim III, in whose time the records of Alalakh come to an end. The texts make it certain that Ammitaqum was contemporary with four kings at Aleppo.[5]

To set in time the period which we have thus defined is another problem. It is generally assumed that Abbael's father, named Hammurabi, was identical with the king Hammurabi who ruled Aleppo in the time of Zimrilim. It is now known from the *res gestae* of Khattushilish I, discovered at Boğazköy in 1957, that the Hittite king sacked Alalakh in the first years of his reign.[6] To this event must be ascribed the radical destruction which closes level VII at Alalakh.[7] Taking our earlier conclusions into account, we are able to date Iarimlim's accession and the oldest Alalakh tablets from the end of the eighteenth century B.C., that is to say, probably during the reign of Abieshu' at Babylon. Roughly fifty years, therefore, separate the disappearance of Zimrilim from the foundation at Alalakh of a vassal dynasty of

[1] G, 7, 52 n. 89.
[2] G, 8, 121 f.; §VII, 10, 102.
[3] §VII, 10, 91.
[4] §VII, 4, 111.
[5] G, 5, 70 n. 181 *a*; §VII, 4, 110 f.
[6] §VII, 5, 78.
[7] §VII, 11, 83 f.

Aleppo. There is still, however, one difficulty: Iarimlim certainly seems to be the brother of Abbael,[1] that is to say the son of Hammurabi of Aleppo, Zimrilim's contemporary, and this prevents us from bringing the date of his installation in Alalakh too far forward.

The Alalakh tablets throw only an indirect and most incomplete light on the history of Aleppo. The principality of Alalakh was created after a rebellion by Abbael's brothers. In particular the town of Irrid, which belonged to Iarimlim already or was destined for him, rose against the king of Aleppo. The latter captured and destroyed the rebel city, but he decided to give Iarimlim, who had remained loyal to him, the city of Alalakh in exchange for it—in return for an act of vassalage drawn up in due form.[2] The episode demonstrates that at this time the king of Aleppo had brought territories beyond the Euphrates under his domination, because the town of Irrid was to the east of Carchemish. After Abbael the dynasty carries on from father to son, with Iarimlim II (Iarimlim I being the father-in-law of Zimrilim), Niqmiepu' and Irkabtum. That the two last sovereigns, Hammurabi II and Iarimlim III, were father and son cannot be proved but it is probable.[3] Hammurabi II has been seen as but a transitory figure on the throne of Aleppo, and Iarimlim III had occupied it only a few years when Khattushilish came and destroyed Alalakh. Several year-names commemorate important events: they inform us that Niqmiepu' seized Aranzik on the Euphrates, almost on a level with Aleppo, and that Iarimlim III gained a victory over Qatna.[4]

The *res gestae* of Khattushilish, for their part, carry on from the Alalakh tablets and give glimpses of the history of the last years of Aleppo, before it fell under the blows of the Hittites.[5] After his action against Alalakh, Khattushilish turned against Urshu and laid the country waste. From the well-known account of the siege of Urshu, of which there is no mention in the Khattushilish text, it is known that the town had the support of Aleppo and Carchemish.[6] After this, Northern Syria had a brief respite. While Khattushilish was engaged in operations against the land of Arzawa he was taken in the rear by the Hurrians, who dealt him some hard blows before he was able to break out of their grip. The attack he launched on Khashshum marks his return

[1] Cf. §VII, 8, 129; *C.A.H.* I[3], pt. 1, p. 213. [2] §VII, 1, 27 f.; §VII, 8, 129.
[3] For their order of succession see *C.A.H.* I[3], pt. 1, pp. 213 ff.
[4] §VII, 4, 110 f. [5] §VII, 5, 78 ff.; see below, pp. 14 ff.
[6] G, 7, 64 n. 157; A, 5, 261 f.

to the offensive to the south-east of the Anatolian plateau. In spite of reinforcements of troops sent by Aleppo, the Hittites triumphed; they seized Khashshum and plundered the town, carrying off a rich booty.

With the aid of this Boğazköy document, we can now follow the manœuvres directed against Aleppo. The Hittite king, reaching Syria via the passes through the Amanus mountains, struck first at Alalakh, in order to interrupt direct communications between Aleppo and the sea. Then, in a sort of enveloping movement, he attacked the neighbouring states of Urshu and Khashshum, to the north-east of Aleppo. It was in the course of a campaign against Khahhum that he crossed the Euphrates for the first time in pursuit of the opposing army.[1] The *res gestae* make no reference to the ill-fated operations against Aleppo itself. It fell to the successor of Khattushilish, Murshilish I, to avenge the defeat and destroy the city before launching an expedition against Babylon.[2] But the protocol of the Treaty of Aleppo was not at fault in asserting that it was Khattushilish who had begun the weakening of the 'great kingship' of Aleppo. It will be noted that the sovereigns of Aleppo, faithful to ancient custom, kept to the title of 'king of Iamkhad'. The Alalakh texts sometimes give them that of 'great king', but only after Ammitaqum had designated himself as king.[3]

The status of Alalakh before it was ceded to Iarimlim is not known; perhaps the city was directly dependent on Aleppo, unless it had been confiscated from one of the king's rebellious brothers. It had an excellent situation near the Orontes, bordering on a plain, which was then fertile and well populated, whereas its central depression is today occupied by the marshy lake of the 'Amuq.[4] It dominated the road linking Aleppo with the Mediterranean, and being near to the Amanus mountains, it must also have benefited from the timber trade. The resources afforded by this favourable situation enabled the princes of Alalakh to build themselves an imposing palace, the state rooms of which were decorated with frescoes.[5] They were also able to raise strong fortifications,[6] which bore witness at once to their power and their virtual independence. But it is quite possible that the territory under their sway was confined to the plain mentioned above.

Iarimlim lived on into the reign of Niqmiepu'. His son Ammitaqum, who succeeded him, soon began to assume the title

[1] §VII, 5, 83.
[2] G, 7, 53 n. 89; 64.
[3] G, 7, 53 n. 90; §VII, 4, 109.
[4] §VII, 11, 17 ff.
[5] See Plate 67(*a*).
[6] See Plate 67(*b*).

of 'king', no longer satisfied to be called 'man of Alalakh', and he occasionally made use of his own date-formulae.[1] He had married a Hurrian princess, who had given him a son named Hammurabi, and the deed ratified in the presence of Iarimlim, by which Ammitaqum appointed Hammurabi as his heir, has been discovered.[2] The latter does not seem to have come to the throne; at all events, the archives leave off before his accession. Ammitaqum's reign was very long, for it began under Niqmiepu' and ended only in the time of Iarimlim III, third successor to him.

The land of Iamkhad must have had more than one vassal state. The Alalakh archives mention the names of a number of important towns, such as Carchemish, Qatna, Ugarit, Ibla, Emar and Tunip, without giving any details of their political status.[3] The first two were capitals of independent kingdoms. It is impossible at present to form an opinion regarding Ugarit, but Ibla does appear to have been a vassal city. As for the last two towns, they may have been directly under the rule of Aleppo. But caution is in place here for we find 'kings' at the head of places less prominent than these, such as Nashtarbi and Tuba.[4] The case of Nashtarbi, the site of which is unknown, makes an interesting study. Towards the end of Iarimlim's reign the town was still a dependency of Alalakh, and after some dispute, sanctions were prescribed against anybody who disputed his possession of it,[5] but under Ammitaqum the town had a 'king' of its own.[6] Should we see in this fact a sign of a tendency for the territory to split up? Here is the same phenomenon of a decline in the central power which might have led Ammitaqum to take the title of king. The title 'great king' with which the sovereigns of Aleppo were graced would do no more than mask an increasing weakness, which, in the long run, would have suited Hittite designs very well. This enfeeblement might be traced to Hurrian penetration, the newcomers gradually attaining power and remoulding the governing classes.

The Hurrians did, in fact, leave a deep impression on the Alalakh archives.[7] Hurrians figure among those occupying high positions, their language was widely used, even in the cultured sections of society, they had introduced names of months into the calendar, and king Abbael recalls the help he received from their goddess Khepat in reconquering Irrid. In the aggregate, however, to judge from the personal names, Hurrians were in the

[1] §VII, 4, 111. [2] G, 8, 33, no. 6. [3] G, 8, 154 ff.
[4] G, 8, 101, no. 367. [5] G, 8, 38, no. 11.
[6] G, 8, 86, no. 269. [7] G, 6, 233 ff.; §V, 5, 39.

minority, the Semites being almost twice as numerous. Attention has also been drawn to a series of names belonging to a people not yet identified. This people, which must have been established in the country for a long time, reveals its presence also in the place-names, where Semitic and Hurrian names are the exception.[1] This ancient layer had been followed by the 'West Semitic' element, and the period covered by the archives had, in its turn, experienced an intensive penetration by Hurrians. The trend increased; towards the middle of the millennium the Hurrian element was predominant at Alalakh (level IV), and the organization of society itself bore the Hurrian stamp.[2]

Practically nothing is known of the rest of Syria. The Alalakh tablets mention only the names of Qatna[3] and Ugarit,[4] together with the land of Amurru,[5] already known to the Mari documents, which was situated to the south of Qatna. Later documents inform us that in about the fifteenth century B.C. Hurrians were numerous at Qatna, where their influence made itself strongly felt.[6] The Ugarit texts, on the other hand, bear witness to a much higher proportion of Semites, and there too are found many more Semitic place-names than at Alalakh.[7] It seems that during the period under consideration the surge of Hurrians had spread southwards, but with varying results from region to region.

So far we have not had occasion to speak of the Hyksos. Some historians have, in fact, turned their eyes upon Syria, seeking far away from Egypt the starting-point of the Hyksos invasion.[8] The different opinions expressed upon this still-debatable subject are largely dependent upon the view which is taken of chronology. It is generally allowed that the Hyksos period opened in Egypt towards the end of the eighteenth century, the invaders having occupied Avaris in the Delta about 1720 B.C.[9] Regarding Syria and Mesopotamia we are not on such firm ground. According to the system adopted in the present work, the date of the occupation of Avaris falls in about the middle of the reign of Samsuiluna at Babylon. In view of the conclusions we have reached, it would be placed in the interval between the Mari documents and those of Alalakh; the latter would all be included within the Hyksos period. Neither in the Mari tablets, where one surely ought to perceive some anticipatory signs, nor in those of Alalakh, is there any trace of a new political power which could be connected with

[1] §v, 5, 39f.
[2] G, 7, 56 ff.; §vii, 7, 19 f.
[3] §vii, 9, 25, no. 259; see also above, p. 32.
[4] G, 8, 99, no. 358.
[5] G, 6, 179.
[6] §vii, 2, 13 n. 1.
[7] G, 4, 69; §v, 5, 40.
[8] §vii, 2, 8 f.
[9] See below, p. 52 (Ed.).

the Hyksos. It is true that certain movements of peoples may have escaped attention, but there are some facts already known which bear upon the origin of the Hyksos. At the time when these were moving into the Delta the Hurrians were just beginning to spread into Northern Syria, the only route they could have followed to Egypt. This being so, it is impossible, without pushing Hammurabi's date considerably farther back,[1] to connect the Hyksos with the Hurrian migration. In the same way there can be no influence of the Indo-Aryans, who appeared distinctly later, certainly after the period of level VII at Alalakh.[2] To sum up, the local evidence leads one to believe that Syria played no part in the Hyksos invasion. This result is not simply negative; it gives the direction in which a solution to the Hyksos problem as a whole will be found.

VIII. DEVELOPMENT OF THE HURRIAN STATES

Urshu and Khashshum, the northern neighbours of Aleppo, were under Hurrian rule at the time of Zimrilim, and there is no doubt that their Hurrian transformation was of long standing. Several figures of deities appear among the spoils which Khattushilish brought back from Khashshum, and these belonged to the Hurrian pantheon.[3] On the other side of the Euphrates the Hurrian states of Upper Mesopotamia must have continued to spread, but this region is plunged into almost total obscurity. After the disappearance of Mari our sources fall silent. Towards the beginning of the fifteenth century, when the silence is finally broken, we are suddenly confronted with an important state, Mitanni, which has united the whole of Northern Mesopotamia and already extended its influence beyond the two rivers.[4] Nothing is known about the phases of its development.

At the time of the Mari documents the Hurrians already dominated several principalities in the north of Mesopotamia, where conditions favoured their expansion. The unification of the country by Shamshi-Adad had been ephemeral, and his territory was divided up among numerous small states.[5] Some of them had submitted more or less completely to the authority of Zimrilim, but the fall of Mari freed them from any kind of tutelage, because Hammurabi does not appear to have extended his conquests as far as the 'High Country'. With the break-up of the Babylonian

[1] Cf. §VII, 4, 113. [2] See below, p. 38. [3] See below, p. 41.
[4] G, 4, 75 f. [5] See above, p. 15 f.

empire under Abieshu' there was not even any prospect of intervention from the south. To the east, Assyria too had ceased to be a great power. Even when freed from Babylonian occupation it remained absorbed in its internal difficulties, and efforts to bring about a revival, later on, came to very little. At the beginning of the fifteenth century Assyria was annexed by Saustatar and attached to the Mitannian empire as a vassal principality.[1] In the west of Upper Mesopotamia only one state capable of playing a significant part survived, the kingdom of Iamkhad. It has been seen that the sovereigns of Aleppo had taken advantage of the eclipse of Mari to gain a foothold on the left bank of the Euphrates (above, p. 32), but they do not seem to have pushed on very far in this direction.

For the Hurrians who had spread into the fertile country of Upper Mesopotamia the way was open for seizing power to the detriment of the Amorite invaders who had preceded them. Settlement and conquest no doubt went hand in hand, and the division of the country into small units made conquest easier than in Syria. This first phase, which is one of progressive Hurrian domination, was to be followed by a second, which would witness the regrouping of the petty states before their final unification within the kingdom of Mitanni. About the progress of this unification, which must have been completed in the second half of the sixteenth century, there is no information.

The existence of Hurrian principalities in Upper Mesopotamia towards the end of the First Babylonian Dynasty is confirmed by the Hittite evidence relating to Khattushilish and Murshilish.[2] While he was making war in the land of Arzawa, Khattushilish was attacked in the rear by the Hurrians. The Hittite campaign against Urshu had taken place during the previous year. Conscious of the danger menacing them, the Hurrians had perhaps decided to grasp the initiative by carrying the war into the enemy's camp. It is certainly from Mesopotamia that they came: instead of naming the Hurrians, as in the Hittite version, the Akkadian version of the *res gestae* makes the aggressor come from the land of Khanigalbat.[3] The blow was severe and it brought Khattushilish to the verge of disaster: the greater part of his territory revolted, and the town of Khattusha alone, he says, remained loyal, but in the end he was able to survive the ordeal. The effort put forth by the Hurrians seems to have exhausted them, for Khattushilish seized Khashshum a few years later, and

[1] §I, 5, 32 ff. [2] G, 7, 64; §VII, 5, 78 ff.; §IX, 1, 384.
[3] §VII, 5, 79 n. 16; see below, p. 242.

even crossed the Euphrates. When Murshilish returned from his expedition against Babylon, he had to repulse a final assault by the Hurrians from Mesopotamia. Those from the kingdoms to the west of the Euphrates had certainly been put out of the fight before the capture of Aleppo. It has been observed that the Khana tablets contain no Hurrian names (above, p. 30). The Hurrians therefore seem to have settled especially in the northern regions.

The formation of the Mitannian empire is linked with the onset of a new immigration, that of the Indo-Aryans, coming from the north-east. There is proof enough of their intervention in several fields, although there is sometimes a tendency to overvalue their contribution to the so-called Mitannian civilization. Basically, Mitanni was a Hurrian state, in which the language was Hurrian; names of Indo-Aryan origin never represented more than a minute percentage. It is usually believed that the Indo-Aryans formed a military aristocracy imposed upon the local peasantry. In spite of numerical weakness, therefore, their political influence may have been dominant. However, the Hurrians did not wait for the stimulus of an Indo-Aryan ruling class before spreading into Mesopotamia and Syria, nor even before seizing power. There were already Hurrian kings in the days of Zimrilim. The Hurrians occupy an increasingly important position at Alalakh, but the Indo-Aryans do not figure in the tablets of level VII,[1] and appear only at level IV: it is in the time between that they must have penetrated into Syria, that is to say, in the course of the sixteenth century. Moreover, it has not so far been possible to establish for certain the existence of Indo-Aryan elements before the end of the First Babylonian Dynasty.[2]

Mysterious invaders known by the name of Umman-Manda, *i.e.* 'Manda-host' or 'Host (of the) Manda', have sometimes been connected with the irruption of the Indo-Aryans.[3] The first mention of these Umman-Manda in an historical context goes back to the reign of Khattushilish I.[4] In a passage dealing with the Hittite king's campaigns in North Syria the leader of the Umman-Manda figures among his adversaries, in company with the general commanding the troops of Aleppo. At about the same time, according to an account preserved in the great collection of observations of the planet Venus, Ammiṣaduqa of Babylon won a victory over the Umman-Manda.[5] But at this date the Umman-Manda had long been known in Babylonia. They al-

[1] G, 7, 56 f.; §VII, 7, 19.
[2] G, 7, 53, 58; §VII, 2, 13 ff.
[3] Cf. §VII, 1, 31.
[4] §VII, 5, 78 n. 14.
[5] §VII, 1, 31 n. 16.

ready appear in omen-texts of the Hammurabi period,[1] which do no more than record a more ancient tradition. Umman-Manda were spoken of long before the arrival of the Indo-Aryans; so that the one must not be confused with the other. If, as is most frequently believed, the term Umman-Manda has in fact a descriptive sense, designating particularly noxious bands of warriors, it may have been applied in certain circumstances to the Indo-Aryan invaders. But in any case, further evidence is needed to attest the presence of the latter; the mention of the Umman-Manda alone is not enough. In the existing state of our knowledge the Indo-Aryan invasion does not appear to have touched Mesopotamia or Syria before the end of the First Babylonian Dynasty and the break-up of the old Hittite empire, following the assassination of Murshilish I. Until this period, the Indo-Aryans could not have had any influence upon the destiny of the Hurrian states.

IX. HURRIAN ELEMENTS IN ART AND RELIGION

The search for Hurrian elements in art encounters two major difficulties: the rarity of the available monuments and the uncertainties which persist even as to the definition of Hurrian art. The problem of knowing what properly belongs to the Hurrians is far from having been resolved, and some authors have gone so far as to deny them the slightest originality in the artistic field. The Hurrians, it is true, showed a marked capacity for assimilating the cultural values of the more advanced peoples with whom they came into contact. To the Mesopotamian civilization, above all, they were vastly indebted. However, the exchanges did not in every case flow one way only: there is to be considered, for example, the extent of Hurrian influence on the Hittite world.[2]

The most objective method is to survey the monuments and works of art throughout the Mitannian kingdom as a whole at the time of its greatest extension. This comparative study has for its object to define the characteristics of a 'Mitannian' art, the inspiration of which must have been mainly Hurrian. The survey has been made; it has yielded positive results, notably for the glyptic and ceramic arts.[3] But all certainty vanishes once a search begins for the direct antecedents of this art. There is nothing to justify adherence to any view without reservation: the problem

[1] See J. Nougayrol in *R.A.* 44 (1950), 12 ff. On the possibility of the Umman-Manda being at Mari, see J. Bottéro in G, 1, vol. VII, 224 f.

[2] §IX, 1. [3] §IX, 2.

remains unresolved. Sometimes the Hurrians had been preceded by peoples of whom we know very little, which makes the task of giving the Hurrians their due even more complicated. This is the case in Syria, where the most ancient layer of the population is composed of an unknown ethnic element.[1] The Hurrians arrived late in the country, and only after the Amorites. They cannot therefore be allowed any part in the development of the so-called Syrian glyptic art,[2] the characteristics of which were settled at the beginning of the period considered in this chapter.[3]

In the religious field the traces of Hurrian influence are more easily discernible. At Mari six texts have been recovered among the archives which are composed wholly or partly in Hurrian, and are extracts from rituals.[4] In order to preserve their full efficacity great care was taken to pronounce the rituals in their original form. At Boğazköy, too, Hurrian was to occupy an important position in the religious ceremonies. Such tablets are proof of the value attached to the religious practices of the Hurrians. Apart from them there is nothing to justify us in assuming that other aspects of religious life at Mari were affected. No Hurrian deity was worshipped there. Attention has been drawn, however, to three names of women, each composed of an Akkadian element and the sacred name Khubat,[5] which must be a special form of the name of the Hurrian goddess Khepat, and this would be her earliest appearance.[6] In the absence of other information, these hybrid names would seem to come from mixed Akkadian–Hurrian families rather than to be a sign of Hurrian religious penetration. The women who bear them were weavers in the royal workshops. They were not necessarily natives of Mari, since the palace also recruited the numerous female workers it needed from outside. In Babylonia, during the reign of Ammiditana, a Subarian slave-woman had a name formed in a similar way, Ummi-Khepet.[7]

On the other hand a Hurrian god certainly makes his appearance under the kingdom of Khana, when the king Shunukhrammu dates one of his years from a sacrifice made to 'Dagan of the Hurrians' (*ša Ḫurri*).[8] This was evidently an exceptional occasion, for the pious acts commemorated in date-formulae are normally the building of a temple or the dedication of a statue, a

[1] See above, p. 35.
[2] See Plate 68.
[3] §VII, 4, 119 ff.; §II, 8, part 3, 248 ff.
[4] §IX, 4.
[5] G, 1, vol. IX, 350.
[6] The name of *Ḫé-ba-at* has now appeared in a letter sent to King Zimrilim (*T.C.L.* 31, no. 92, 23).
[7] G, 4, 106.
[8] G, 4, 63.

throne, or an emblem. Perhaps the sacrifice in this case had a political significance, for the god so honoured could not have been the ordinary object of worship in the land of Khana. The god Dagan had long been considered the supreme master of the middle Euphrates, and it is possible that under the designation 'Dagan of the Hurrians', it was in fact Teshub, the great god of the Hurrians, that was intended.

In Syria, Hurrian influence in the religious field was naturally more marked. In one of the most ancient documents discovered at Alalakh, which concerns the cession of this town, the king of Aleppo, Abbael, makes a point of recalling the support given him by the goddess Khepat.[1] Worship of the goddess had therefore been officially introduced to Aleppo by this date. Khepat was the titular wife of Teshub, and in this instance she is associated with the god Adad, written with the ideogram IM; it is a question whether the reading should not be Teshub rather than Adad. But perhaps the question is superfluous, for in the Hurrian personal names yielded by the Alalakh tablets ideograms concealing names of Hurrian deities are encountered. The practice is especially common during the late period (tablets of level IV), but it is not unknown during the earlier.[2] Teshub being identified with Adad, each ethnic community could express the name of the Weather God in its own language. In the Boğazköy texts, the great god Adad of Aleppo, to whom Zimrilim had dedicated his statue in former years, was to become Teshub of Aleppo.[3] The change was beginning to take place in the time of Abbael since Khepat had already taken her place beside the god of Aleppo. The mark left by the Hurrians is revealed, too, by other references in the Alalakh documents. Certain religious festivals have Hurrian names,[4] and several names of months are also Hurrian, one of them containing the name of the god Ashtapi.[5]

In addition to this, the influence of neighbouring countries reinforced the influence exerted by the Hurrians installed in Syria itself. Among the northern allies of Aleppo, religion was dominated entirely by Hurrians. When Khattushilish I sacked Khashshum, some years after the destruction of Alalakh, he returned with a batch of statues he had removed from the temples in the city.[6] Among them were effigies of the god of Aleppo and his wife Khepat, as well as a pair of silver bulls, which must have represented Sherri and Khurri, the two great bulls which were attributes of Teshub.

[1] G, 8, 25.
[2] G, 7, 57 n. 111; §IX, 1, 384 n. 6.
[3] §IX, 1, 390.
[4] G, 8, 86, no. 269; §VII, 9, 27, no. 264.
[5] G, 8, 85, no. 263.
[6] §VII, 5, 82.

CHAPTER VI

ANATOLIA *c.* 1750–1600 B.C.

I. SOURCES

HISTORY begins in Anatolia with the records of the Assyrian trading colonies, described in the first volume (ch. XXIV) of this work. The period covered by these documents, hardly more than two centuries in all, closes with the disappearance of the colonies not long after 1780 B.C. The art of writing appears to have been temporarily lost, for it was an entirely different form of cuneiform script that was introduced by the Hittites about a century later. Of the many thousands of baked clay tablets unearthed by the German excavators on the site of the Hittite capital at Boğazköy since work started in 1906, and constituting the Hittite royal archives, only a handful can be dated by their script as early as the seventeenth century B.C.[1] However, many historical texts of this date have come to light in the form of later copies, inscribed like the greater part of the archives during the fourteenth and thirteenth centuries B.C.,[2] and such copies can be used confidently as a first-class source for much of the earlier period. Statements contained in them about events already past at the time of the original inscription are of course of less certain value, but in default of other relevant evidence they cannot be ignored.

Archaeology has comparatively little to contribute for this period. Few sites on the plateau of Asia Minor survived the widespread destruction at the end of the Early Bronze Age: fewer still have as yet been excavated. The key sites are Kültepe (ancient Kanesh) and Boğazköy (ancient Khattusha),[3] with Alişar (possibly ancient Ankuwa) of secondary importance.[4] Throughout the Middle Bronze Age at these sites there is a fairly stable culture. The occasional strata of destruction should be capable of a historical interpretation; but no major change can be detected until the appearance of 'Phrygian' pottery which marks the downfall of the Hittite empire at the end of the Late Bronze Age in the twelfth century.

[1] H. Otten in G, 9, 12–13.

[2] For the nature and contents of these archives see §1, 1 and 2.

[3] Interim reports on both sites are published annually in *A.J.A.*, *A.St.*, *Belleten*, and *M.D.O.G.*

[4] See below, sect. III.

External evidence bearing on the history of Anatolia during these centuries is virtually non-existent. Following the great age of Hammurabi in Babylon and of the Middle Kingdom in Egypt, the frontiers again contracted and contacts between the nations were few. Thus it is upon the tablets from Boğazköy that we must mainly rely for such information as can be gleaned about the history of Asia Minor in this period.

II. LANGUAGES AND PEOPLES

As a background to this history, something must be said about the linguistic and ethnic divisions of the Anatolian population in the second millennium B.C. A remarkable feature of the Hittite archives, which was very early observed, is the number of distinct languages represented in them.[1] The language in which the great majority of the texts are written has been given the name of 'Hittite' because it was the official language of the 'Land of Khatti'. Beside Hittite, however, we find not only Akkadian, the international language of the time, but also four other languages which were evidently spoken in parts of Asia Minor. The names commonly given to these tongues are derived from the adverbs in *-ili* or *-umnili* which are used to introduce them in the Hittite texts. Thus from the adverbs *ḫattili*, *luwili*, *ḫurlili* and *palaumnili*, the corresponding languages are known as Khattian, Luwian, Hurrian and Palaic; Akkadian would more properly be termed 'Babylonian', from the adverb *pabilili*.[2] For the Hittite language itself the term used has been identified in three forms, namely *našili*, *nišili*, and *nešumnili*, that is 'in the language of (the town) Nesha'. A more strict terminology would therefore use 'Neshian' rather than 'Hittite' as a name for the official language.

The language in which the 'singer of Kanesh' recites, once called *kanešumnili*, seems on the evidence to be a language at least very closely related to Hittite, perhaps even Hittite itself in an earlier form.[3] But if Kanesh and Nesha, as has been proposed,[4] are merely the Akkadian and Hittite forms respectively of one and the same name—that of the well-known centre of the Assyrian commercial organization already described[5]—this 'Kaneshite' language would not be a distinct language at all, but identical

[1] §II, 1, 2 and 10; best recent accounts in §II, 17, 1–9 and G, 7, 45 ff.
[2] §I, 3, no. 468.
[3] §II, 2, 191–8; §II, 5, 263; A, 16, 151.
[4] §II, 12, 46–50; §II, 10, 235; A, 14, 192 n. 4.
[5] *C.A.H.* I³, pt. 2, pp. 707 ff.

with 'Neshian'. The theory is attractive, but has not yet been generally accepted.[1]

Of these five languages, three, namely Hittite, Luwian and Palaic, are closely related to the Indo-European family. Archaeological and toponymic evidence have suggested that the first Indo-European elements, the Luwians, may have arrived in Anatolia from the west at the beginning of the Early Bronze Age, moving up on to the plateau towards the end of that period and putting an end to an earlier culture, the bearers of which are nameless.[2] In the period with which we are here concerned the Luwians constituted the predominant population of the southern and western portions of the peninsula. In Hittite documents the geographical term Luwiya includes the state of Arzawa which played an important part in the history of the second millennium as a rival of the Hittite kingdom and is certainly to be located either in the west or the south-west.[3] Kizzuwadna, in Cilicia, appears also to have had in early times a largely Luwian population.[4] Luwians cannot be identified in any numbers among the native Anatolians mentioned in the archives of the Assyrian traders,[5] and we can infer that they had not yet penetrated into the more northern areas at that time. It is clear, however, that Luwians and their language played an increasingly important role in the Hittite kingdom. Not only do Luwian names appear more frequently in the Hittite texts as time goes on, but the Luwian dialect written with hieroglyphic characters, commonly known as 'Hieroglyphic Hittite', was used by the later Hittite kings for monumental inscriptions and perhaps also for other purposes.[6] It is uncertain whether this implies a large Luwian-speaking element in the population or merely the employment of Luwian scribes.[7]

The north-central area, roughly within the basins of the Çekerek (classical Scylax) and Delice (classical Cappadox) rivers,[8] must have been inhabited from prehistoric times by the non-Indo-European race whose language appears in the texts as *ḫattili*. This adverb, evidently derived directly from the geographical or ethnic term *Ḫatti*, is properly the philological counterpart of the English 'Hittite'; but because the latter has become inseparably linked by usage with the better known but secondary use of the

[1] Cf. §II, 8, 51 n. 7; A, 38, 103–4; A, 37, 59–60; A, 13, 10 ff.; A, 47, 108 f.

[2] §II, 14, 15–33; §II, 15, 76 ff.

[3] For the west: G, 4, ch. VII, and A, 9, 10. For the south-west: G, 7, map, and A, 22, 47. Cf. A, 10, 395 ff. See Map 6.

[4] G, 6, 8.

[5] §II, 7, 80.

[6] A, 5 and 6; also G, 7, 53; §II, 10, 236 ff.

[7] §II, 9, 138 ff.

[8] §II, 13, 341.

name for the kingdom and empire of Khattusha and with the Indo-European language in which most of the texts are written, it has been necessary to devise another name for the non-Indo-European substratum, and the terms 'Khattian' or 'Khattic' have been widely adopted, though some prefer the rather misleading expression 'Proto-Hittite'. The Khattian language bears no recognizable relation to any known linguistic group.

Hittite, like Luwian, is a language of Indo-European structure but with a strong admixture of non-Indo-European vocabulary. An analysis of the personal names of native Anatolians found in documents of the Assyrian traders has shown that 'Kaneshites' (that is, Hittites) were already present in the country during the most flourishing period of the Assyrian colonies;[1] their arrival can therefore hardly be associated with the destruction of the second level of the *karum* at Kanesh and of many other sites *c.* 1900 B.C. (a view which depended on the distinction drawn between Kaneshite and Hittite)[2] but must be regarded as a much earlier movement, possibly to be connected with the introduction of the polychrome 'Cappadocian' (Alişar III) pottery at the end of the Early Bronze Age.[3] As their name implies, they must have settled in the central area, mainly to the south of the Khattians, especially around Kanesh; but the two populations evidently mingled freely, and the more flexible Neshian language gradually replaced Khattic as the language of the country. By the second millennium there is little evidence that the Hittites had any consciousness of ethnic differences within their homeland. It has been suggested that the historical conditions for this mingling of populations were first created when the whole region was unified *c.* 1750 B.C. by the conquests of the (Khattian) kings of Kushshar;[4] it could, however, have been a natural development in the preceding centuries, and there is nothing to show that the two populations were still consciously distinct even at the time of the Assyrian colonies.[5]

Of the third Indo-European language, Palaic, much less can be said. It was obviously the language of the district called Palā, later an outlying province of the Hittite kingdom. Prevailing opinion places Palā in classical Paphlagonia (modern Kastamonu) where there was a district called Blaene;[6] though arguments have been adduced for locating it rather in the vicinity of Sebasteia

[1] §II, 6; A, 16, 141–52. [2] §II, 14, 9 ff.

[3] G, 7, 43 f., 60 f.; §II, 4, 220; cf. *C.A.H.* i[3], pt. 2, ch. XXIV, sects. III and VI; A, 43, 51.

[4] §II, 13, 341–3. [5] §II, 4, 215 n. 6.

[6] A, 7, 178; G, 7, map; A, 22, 45; A, 51, 95; A, 24, 216. See Map 6.

(modern Sivas)[1] or even far to the north-east in Armenia Minor (near modern Bayburt).[2]

The Hurrian language, which was later the vehicle for an extensive literature (at present known mainly through Hittite versions), is a much later intruder into Asia Minor. In the early years of the rising kingdom of Khattusha the Hurrians were still a distant little-known nation beyond the eastern mountains, and it was not till after 1550 B.C. that their political consolidation caused them to exert a substantial influence on the Hittites. They seem then to have infiltrated into southern parts of the peninsula which were previously inhabited by Luwians.[3]

III. ORIGIN OF THE KINGDOM OF KHATTUSHA

The political history of Anatolia begins with the rise of Anitta, son of Pitkhana, king of Kushshar, mentioned in a previous chapter of this *History*.[4] The conquests of this king are recorded in detail in a Hittite text from Boğazköy, one manuscript of which is known to be ancient.[5] We learn from it how Anitta transferred his residence to Nesha, which had been conquered by his father, and proceeded to capture successively the cities of Ullamma, Harkiuna, Zalpuwa and Khattusha itself, destroying the latter utterly and declaring it accursed; and how finally he defeated the king of Shalatiwara in a battle, and the king of Purushkhanda submitted to him, bearing a throne and a sceptre of iron as gifts. As already mentioned, three Old Assyrian documents and a bronze 'dagger'— properly a spearhead[6]—inscribed with his name prove that this first Anatolian empire-builder was contemporary with the Assyrian trading colonies and confirm his assumption of the title 'great king'. But whether he belongs to the most flourishing period of the colonies (level II at Kültepe) as maintained above,[7] or to the very end of the later period of partial revival (level I *b*), as most authorities believe,[8] there remains a gap between his reign and the subsequent history of Anatolia which the Hittite archives have failed to bridge, and an attempt must therefore be made to assess the inarticulate data of archaeology.

[1] G, 4, 30; A, 17, 58. [2] A, 10, 244.

[3] See above, pp. 22 ff.; G, 6, 4 ff.; A, 28, 7; but cf. A, 39, 402–15; A, 47, 344 n. 25.

[4] *C.A.H.* I[3], pt. 2, pp. 714 f.

[5] H. Otten in G, 9, 12–13; §III, 2, 47; §III, 7, 38 ff.; A, 45, 334–6.

[6] §III, 10, 33–4; A, 45, 334. [7] So also A, 16, 63–79.

[8] §III, 1 and 2; A, 13, 15; A, 45, 336–7; A, 47, 111.

At Kültepe (Kanesh) the spearhead of Anitta 'the king' was found in a large building which was destroyed in a violent conflagration.[1] The natural assumption that this building must have been the palace of Anitta has been challenged:[2] it has been suggested that the dagger might have been left there by one of the soldiers of Anitta when his army sacked the city. But if we accept the identification of Kanesh with Nesha, we must reject this suggestion, for Nesha was conquered not by Anitta but by a predecessor, perhaps his father Pitkhana, apparently with the minimum of violence. Anitta was able to reside at Nesha without further military action. The building where the spearhead was found should then be the palace of Anitta, and the conquest by Pitkhana will have left no trace on the mound (unless it be in the destruction of the palace of Warshama near by).[3] On the ruins of the palace of Anitta there arose a Hittite building in *megaron* form which survived in its essentials till the end of the Hittite Empire.[4]

At Boğazköy (Khattusha), level IV*d* on the acropolis (Büyükkale) and the contemporary Assyrian trading colony or *karum* (level IV) in the lower city both show evidence of violent destruction, followed by a period of desertion.[5] These facts agree well with the literary tradition, according to which Khattusha was destroyed and declared accursed by Anitta of Kushshar.[6] Level IV*c* which follows on the citadel must be identified with the prosperous period of the Hittite Old Kingdom. Thus neither the destruction of IV*d* nor that of IV*c* can be connected with the destruction of the palace of Anitta at Kültepe.

At Alişar the stratification is far from clear. The Assyrian tablets were found in the third (lowest) phase of level 10*T*, now called 10*Tc*. Only a few fragments were found in the second phase 10*Tb*, which succeeds the third without intermission and contained at least one monumental building, the so-called 'mansion'.[7] Level 10*Tb* ended in a conflagration and after a final phase of occupation by squatters the site was deserted.[8] Level 10*Tb* with its 'mansion' was at one time identified with the Hittite Old Kingdom.[9] On this assumption, we should have here a site at which the *karum* gave way peacefully to a Hittite regime.

[1] §III 1, 78; §III, 2, 3; §III, 10, 33–4.
[2] §III, 5, 60. Cf. also A, 16, 67 ff.
[3] §III, 2, 3; §III, 11, xxi; *A.St.* 6 (1956), 25–6, and 7 (1957), 20.
[4] *A.St.* 4 (1954), 19 and 5 (1955), 19; also §III, 10, 33–4.
[5] *A.St.* 10 (1960), 20–1; A, 12, 14 ff.
[6] A, 3, 13; §III, 3, 60; A, 13, 2.
[7] §III, 6, vol. II, 15 ff.
[8] §III, 5, 63.
[9] A, 20, 512.

One could infer that an internal revolution at 'Alişar' brought a change of dynasty there and that subsequently the new rulers conquered and destroyed Kanesh and reoccupied the deserted Khattusha. Furthermore, if Alişar could be equated with Kushshar, as has been suggested,[1] this would agree with the Hittite tradition that their earliest kings had been kings of Kushshar. A change of dynasty at Kushshar would explain the flouting of the curse of Anitta by the reoccupation of Khattusha, an action unlikely to have been committed by one of his own descendants.[2] The destruction of level 10*Tb* at Alişar would present the same difficulty as that of level IV*c* at Boğazköy[3] and would enhance the probability that some disaster occurred which the Hittites failed to record.[4]

However, the Hittite character of level 10*Tb* at Alişar has been rejected by the excavator of Kültepe, who has stated that he has found similar buildings at his site in pre-Hittite levels.[5] This would mean that Alişar was destroyed and ceased to exist as a city at the end of the colony-period. It could not then be the site of Kushshar, and indeed the place is rather small to be the site of a city of such historical importance.[6] The stratification of Alişar is therefore better left aside in reconstructing the history of this dark period. We have to look elsewhere for evidence of the emergence of Hittite power; in fact it now seems probable Kushshar was not in this area at all, but far to the south-east, in the vicinity of Şar (Comana Cappadociae).[7] Nevertheless, that it was the Hittites who destroyed the palace of Anitta at Kanesh-Nesha remains virtually certain in view of the character of the succeeding levels, and it is therefore unlikely that the Hittite kingdom was a direct continuation of the kingdom of Pitkhana and Anitta.[8] A change of dynasty at Kushshar remains the most likely hypothesis.[9] It is the history of this new dynasty that is told by the Hittite archives, beginning *c.* 1650 B.C.

[1] §III, 5, 60; 12, vol. I, 142 n. 1.
[2] §IV, 4, 185–6.
[3] See below, ch. XV.
[4] §III, 3, 60.
[5] §III, 9, 215–16 n. 407.
[6] So A, 1, 31. The new reading of an Alişar tablet quoted in §III, 2, 39 n. 56, which would prove the identification of Alişar with the ancient Ankuwa, has been checked by the present writer against the tablet in Ankara and found to be incorrect.
[7] A, 42, 45 ff.; A, 16, 14–20.
[8] G, 5, 15; §III, 2, 48.
[9] So apparently §III, 4, 144–5.

IV. THE OLD HITTITE KINGDOM

Hittite history, as revealed by the archives, falls into two distinct periods, usually termed the Old Kingdom and the Empire. The texts relating to the Old Kingdom are few in number and for the most part badly mutilated,[1] and historians of this period have always taken as basis the well-preserved constitutional decree of Telepinush, one of the last kings of the Old Kingdom, which contains a long historical preamble contrasting the firm and orderly government of former kings with the anarchy into which the kingdom had subsequently sunk,[2] and thus giving in effect the outline of Hittite history down to the author's time. This document begins as follows:

Formerly Labarnash was Great King; and then his sons, his brothers, his connexions by marriage, his blood-relations and his soldiers were united. And the country was small; but wherever he marched to battle, he subdued the countries of his enemies with might. He destroyed the countries and made them powerless (?) and he made the sea their frontier.[3] And when he returned from battle, his sons went each to every part of the country, to Khupishna, to Tuwanuwa, to Nenashsha, to Landa, to Zallara, to Parshukhanda and to Lushna, and governed the country, and the great cities were firmly in his possession (?).[4]

Afterwards Khattushilish became king. And his sons, brothers, connexions by marriage, blood-relations and soldiers were likewise united. And wherever he marched to battle, he subdued the countries of his enemies with might. He destroyed the countries and made them powerless (?) and he made the sea their frontier. And when he returned from battle, his sons went each to every part of the country. And the great cities were again firmly in his hands (?).[5]

Such, apparently, was the tradition. For the Hittites of later generations their history had begun with King Labarnash. When offering sacrifices to the spirits of former kings and queens, deified by death, they placed him, with his queen Tawannannash, at the head of the list.[6] Indeed, this pair, it seems, were invested with a special sanctity. Their names were assumed, almost as titles, by every reigning king and queen from Telepinush onwards and held by each for life, in a way which suggests that the spirits of the ancestors were believed to live on in each successive

[1] §1, 2, nos. 1–28. [2] *Ibid.* no. 21; translation §IV, 14, 183 ff.
[3] Literally 'he made them frontiers of the sea'.
[4] Meaning uncertain; literally 'were assigned, associated'.
[5] Literally 'were assigned, associated, to his hand also'.
[6] §IV, 10.

royal pair.[1] When used in this way, the name Labarnash commonly appears (especially in Akkadian and Luwian contexts) in the variant form Tabarna(sh), possibly because the name was originally Khattic and began with a peculiar consonant which was rendered differently in the different languages.

Yet Labarnash is an elusive figure. Telepinush does not state explicitly that he was the father or even the immediate predecessor of Khattushilish I. For information on this point and for further details of this king's reign we naturally turn to the old Hittite documents, and here we find a strange situation. The earliest texts can be dated to the reigns of Khattushilish and his son Murshilish I. None can be assigned to Labarnash, and indeed we may search in vain for a single reference to the events of his reign. The name Labarnash occurs fairly frequently; but it appears to be used mainly for King Khattushilish himself, though also for a nephew whom he had adopted as his successor but disinherited, and in one passage only for the 'son of his grandfather', who is usually assumed to be identical with Labarnash I, though the reference is to an incident before he became king.[2] We have to conclude either that Khattushilish ascended the throne as Labarnash (II) but later adopted the surname of Khattushilish, or alternatively that his personal name was Khattushilish and that he took the 'throne-name' of Labarnash. Only in one of the contemporary texts does this king give his own name as Khattushilish, namely in the record of military exploits, in annalistic form, of which parallel Hittite and Akkadian versions were found in 1957.[3] This text is also the only one in which Khattushilish refers to his lineage, but his choice of words has served only to make the position more obscure. The two parallel versions run as follows:

Hittite	*Akkadian*
[Thus Tabar]na Khattushilish, Great [King, King of Khattu]sha, man of Kushshar: in the Land of Khattusha [he ruled as king,] the brother's son of Tawannannash.[4]	Great King Tabarna exercised kingship in Khattusha, the [brother's son] of Taw[annannash].

Here again, where we should most expect to find it, the name of Labarnash (I) is omitted.

[1] §IV, 13, 20 ff.

[2] §IV, 13, 12 ff., and see below.

[3] §IV, 11; A, 11; A, 29 and 49; A, 45, 339 ff.; A, 47, 113 ff.

[4] In both versions 'Khattusha' is written with the Akkadogram *Ḫatti*, on which see §II, 13, 340 n. 59 (but cf. A, 39 and A, 40, 6 n. 26).

The other passage just mentioned remains the only contemporary reference to an older Labarnash and may be quoted in full:

My grandfather had proclaimed his son Labarnash (as heir to the throne)[1] in Shanakhuitta, [but afterwards] his servants and the leading citizens spurned (?) his words and set Papakhdilmakh on the throne. Now how many years have elapsed and [how many of them] have escaped their fate?

From these two passages it is at least certain that in the generation before Khattushilish there lived a Labarnash and a Tawannannash and that the father of this Labarnash was king before him, though we do not learn his name (it is doubtful whether he is to be identified with the PU-Sharruma, son of Tudkhaliash who is mentioned among former kings and princes in a sacrificial list).[2] The whole of Hittite usage demands that we should recognize Labarnash and Tawannannash as wedded king and queen. But marriage between brother and sister was abhorrent to the Hittites and even punishable by death,[3] and we cannot therefore identify this Labarnash with the brother of Tawannannash who was the father of Khattushilish. It must be assumed that Labarnash had a sister who was married to the brother of Tawannannash and became the mother of Khattushilish.

The failure of the contemporary texts to provide any further information about the reign of this Labarnash or to suggest that he was in any way outstanding casts some doubt on the validity of the tradition and on the theory that he and his queen were the immortal pair whose spirits lived on in the persons of later rulers. This usage is indeed likely to be far older in origin.[4] It must also be recognized that Telepinush, by his own account, lived some five generations after Labarnash, and it may be that he was not in fact recording a living tradition but rather attempting to construct history out of the documents in his state archives, as later kings undoubtedly did.[5] Such a supposition would explain why it was that this and later Hittite documents know nothing of any predecessor of 'Labarnash' and make him the first of his line; for the written archives actually seem to have begun with Labarnash-Khattushilish.

According to Telepinush it was Labarnash, the predecessor of

[1] The translation of the phrase 'his/my son Labarnash' as 'his/my young-Labarnash', that is, successor, suggested by J. G. Macqueen in §v, 3, 184, is unlikely to be correct in view of the variable order of the words and the attachment of the enclitic pronoun to the word for 'son' in each instance.

[2] §iv, 4, 21 ff.; §iv, 8, 187 n. 27; §iii, 3, 54; G, 8, 216.

[3] G, 7, 94.

[4] Cf. §v, 3, 180 ff.

[5] §iii, 4, 96.

Khattushilish, who started the Hittite kingdom on its road of conquest and extended its frontiers to the sea; but it is perhaps suspicious that almost the same words are used to describe the reigns of Labarnash and Khattushilish in this decree. Can it be that his historians were misled by the rather confusing use of the name Labarnash by king Khattushilish in the ancient texts?[1]

None the less, the decree of Telepinush remains good evidence for the historian that the expansion of the Hittite kingdom began with the incorporation of the territory south of the Kızıl Irmak (Halys), where Tuwanuwa (classical Tyana), Khupishna (classical Cybistra), Lushna (classical Lystra), Parshukhanda (classical Soandus?), and probably also Nenashsha and Zallara, are to be located.[2] Evidently this first stage had already been accomplished before the time of 'Labarnash', whose sons administered these territories peacefully on their return from their father's campaigns. Indeed there is reason, as we shall see, to believe that the first penetration of the Taurus passes by a Hittite army took place some time during this dark period of history. To assume, however, that this occurred as early as the reign of Pitkhana, on the basis of a single place-name in a later treaty,[3] seems rather speculative.

It is unquestionably with Labarnash II Khattushilish, rather than with Labarnash I, that we re-enter the full light of history after the dark period following Anitta of Kushshar. His reign is documented by several authentic inscriptions, the foremost of which is the bilingual annalistic text mentioned above. Here, as we have seen, he is entitled (in the Hittite version) 'King of Khattusha, man of Kushshar', and centuries later his connexion with the city of Kushshar was still remembered by his namesake and successor, Khattushilish III.[4] The expression 'man of Kushshar', used at a time when he was already 'king' of Khattusha, can only mean that Kushshar was his place of origin and therefore the original seat of his dynasty, though the place does not happen to be mentioned in connexion with his immediate predecessors. That these rulers were the direct descendants of Pitkhana and Anitta has already been shown to be unlikely.

If the capital of the kingdom was transferred, as it seems, by this king from Kushshar to the deserted site of Khattusha, the event provides a ready explanation for his change of name.

[1] In the sacrificial lists for the spirits of former kings the first name preserved is Tawannannash, followed by Labarnash; see A, 48.

[2] G, 4, 63 f., with earlier references. For Parshukhanda cf. Purushkhanda, above, p. 232, and *C.A.H.* I[3], pt. 2, p. 707.

[3] §IV, 1, 33 n. 1.

[4] §IV, 13, 105.

Khattushilish 'man of Khattusha' would be a surname which he adopted to commemorate the move and which he used henceforward in conjunction with his dynastic name Labarnash.[1]

Khattusha was a mountain stronghold dominating the northern sector of the plateau within the bend of the Halys river. The earliest settlement on the site was on the huge rocky eminence now called Büyükkale, which towers high above the modern Turkish village of Boğazköy. To the east, Büyükkale is protected from assault by the precipitous gorge of the torrent Budak Özü, but the more gentle slopes on the opposite side of the hill necessitated a certain degree of fortification. Later, when Büyükkale could no longer contain the expanding city, the settlement was extended west and north down the mountain slope as far as the deep gorge of another torrent which unites with the Budak Özü at the foot of the hill; and later still the rising ground to the south was also taken in and defended by the cyclopean walls, much of which can still be seen today.[2]

As the administrative capital of a kingdom which embraced most of the central Anatolian plateau the city was badly situated on account of its peripheral position in the far north, and this defect was further accentuated when the empire was extended southwards beyond the Taurus. If it was none the less deliberately chosen as a capital by the Hittite king, he was doubtless impelled mainly by strategical considerations. History can show many examples of the siting of a capital city at the point of danger, and in later centuries the hills to the north of Khattusha were the home of turbulent tribes, the so-called Kaska or Gasga folk, who formed a constant menace to the security of the kingdom.[3] We do not know when these tribesmen first appeared on the northern borders or whence they came; they are first mentioned in the time of Khantilish,[4] but it may well be that it was their appearance which induced Khattushilish to adopt this northern stronghold as his capital.

The events of six years of this reign are concisely described in the bilingual document already quoted. Whether these are actually the first six years is not made completely clear. Valuable though this document is, our full understanding of it—and indeed of all Hittite historical texts—is severely limited by our ignorance of the location of the many places mentioned in them. For in spite of the considerable amount of research which has

[1] So §IV, 13, 20.
[2] See A, 2 and 26.
[3] G, 6, 178; G, 7, 33.
[4] §III, 3, 60; but cf. A, 50, 19 n. 1. See below, ch. xv.

been done on the subject, very little agreement has yet been achieved.[1]

The first of these years was devoted to campaigns against 'Shakhuitta' (var. Shanawitta) and 'Zalpar', presumably the cities better known in the forms Shanakhuitta and Zalpa. Shanakhuitta, as we have already seen, is the location of the earliest event in Hittite history, the attempt by the nobles to replace 'Labarnash I' by their own nominee, one Papakhdilmakh. It was undoubtedly in the central Hittite area and in the vicinity of the important garrison centres Khakpish and Ishtakhara,[2] whether the group as a whole is to be placed round Amasya,[3] in the Kanak Su valley,[4] or on the upper Halys above Sivas.[5] A personal connexion of Shanakhuitta with the king is suggested by its appearance in a tablet of instructions for palace servants.[6] Perhaps the place contained an ancient royal residence. Nothing is known to explain its hostility at the beginning of the reign of Khattushilish.

Of Zalpa, the site of an important Assyrian colony in the preceding age, somewhat more is known.[7] It seems to have been one of the most tenacious rivals of the Hittite kingdom in its rise to power. Already before the time of Anitta the king of Zalpa had raided the city of Nesha (Kanesh) and carried off the statue of the local god. Anitta, as king of Nesha, recaptured it and restored it to its home. The wars of the kings of Khatti against Zalpa are related in a much damaged text of the legendary type.[8] The raid in the first year of Khattushilish, in which it is not stated that Zalpa was captured, would seem to have been a minor episode in a conflict extending over many years. The localization of Zalpa is bound up with that of Tawiniya, which was evidently near it and also one of the nearest towns to the capital. If Tawiniya is classical Tavium, Zalpa must have been situated to the south or south-east of Khattusha.[9] However, the more satisfactory equation of Tawiniya with classical Tonea would compel us to place this and a large group of other cities, including Zalpa, to the north of Khattusha,[10] and the location of Zalpa at Alaca Hüyük,[11] with Tawiniya at Eskiyapar,[12] has much to recommend it. Thus the campaigns of this year are merely local operations.

[1] Cf. G, 4, especially 109, and critical comments in A, 10; A, 22; and A, 24.
[2] G, 4, 8 ff.; A, 19, 21.
[3] A, 21, 98.
[4] G, 4, 14 ff.
[5] A, 8, 51.
[6] §I, 2, no. 167.
[7] §III, 2, 58 f.; A, 19, 27.
[8] §I, 2, no. 26; §III, 4, 101 ff.
[9] G, 4, 11 ff.
[10] So A, 19, 27, and A, 24, 87. See Map 6.
[11] A, 8, 50; A, 10, 377.
[12] A, 24.

All the more surprising, therefore, is the record for the second year:

In the next year I marched against Alkhalkha (var. Alalkha) and destroyed it. Afterwards I marched against Urshu (var. Warshuwa); from Urshu I marched against Igakalish; from Igakalish I marched against Tashkhinya (var. Tishkhiniya). On my way back I destroyed the land of Urshu and filled my house with treasures.

Alalkha (Alkhalkha) can hardly be anything but the city of Alalakh in the plain of Antioch, well known from the excavations of Sir Leonard Woolley from 1937 to 1949. We thus find Khattushilish at the beginning of his reign conducting a campaign in the Syrian plains. The absence of any preliminary operations is most striking and we must conclude that a road through the Taurus mountains was already under Hittite control. The area demarcated by the seven cities of Labarnash in the decree of Telepinush suggests that this road may have been the Cilician Gates, and since the land of Adaniya (that is, modern Adana) is mentioned by Telepinush among territories lost to the Hittites in a succeeding reign,[1] it would seem that Cilicia also must have been already in their hands. The appearance of a central Anatolian ware at Tarsus has already been taken as a sign of Hittite expansion at approximately this time,[2] and the Hittite fortress at Mersin, which belongs to the same period,[3] lends further support to this conclusion. An approach by way of Cilicia would indeed explain how Alalakh came to be the first town in Syria to succumb to the Hittites, while Aleppo remained undefeated.

Khattushilish claims to have destroyed Alalakh on this campaign. This, then, should be the destruction which marked the end of level VII on the site—an important chronological datum, for the destruction of Alalakh VII has been dated by a combination of archaeological and historical reasoning to *c.* 1650–1630 B.C.[4]

After capturing Alalakh, Khattushilish proceeded to attack Urshu, Igakalish and Tashkhiniya. The situation of the last two places is unknown; but Urshu is now located with reasonable certainty on the right bank of the Euphrates to the north of

[1] G, 6, 57. See below, chapter XV.

[2] §III, 5, 68.

[3] *Ibid.* 68–9.

[4] §IV, 1, 26 ff.; 6, 25. See above, chapter I. It is necessary to place Hammurabi II of Iamkhad, the contemporary of Ammitaqum of Alalakh (§IV, 15, nos. 21, 22, 39; cf. the table in §IV, 6, 23) before Iarim-lim III, the opponent of Khattushilish; the Hammurabi son of Iarim-lim of *K.U.B.* XXXI, 5 (§III, 3, 70, and §IV, 9, 52) could be a Hammurabi III, not attested in the Alalakh archives. See *C.A.H.* I[3], pt. 1, pp. 211 ff. and cf. A, 32, 161.

Carchemish;[1] its role in Syrian history is treated in chapter I of this volume. The country of Urshu was destroyed on the return journey and booty taken. It is not stated whether the king returned home by the same route. In this account the remarkable thing is the absence of any reference to Aleppo (Khalap), the king of which might have been expected to come to the aid of his vassal, the king of Alalakh, or at least to interfere with the free passage of the Hittite army through his territories. It may be that Khattushilish had seized the opportunity provided by a dynastic dispute at Aleppo, as a result of which Ammitaqum of Alalakh had assumed his independence and was therefore unable to call on the assistance of his more powerful neighbour in the hour of danger.[2]

The following year Khattushilish set out from his capital for a campaign against Arzawa. This is the earliest reference to the kingdom which was to become in later centuries the strongest rival of the Hittite kings in their struggle for the domination of the Anatolian peninsula—it lay to the west or south-west of Khattusha with a royal residence on the sea coast.[3] Thus there can be no doubt that this was a major operation for the Hittite king; but his absence in the West was taken as an open invitation by his enemies in the East. The kingdom was invaded in his rear by a power called in the Akkadian version 'Khanikalbat' and in the Hittite 'the Hurrians', and the whole country fell to them with the exception of Khattusha itself. Here again we have the earliest reference in Hittite history to a nation later to exercise a powerful influence on the civilization of Anatolia.[4] Khanigalbat always denotes a Hurrian power situated to the east of the Euphrates, whatever its exact limits may have been at any given time;[5] and there are already other grounds for believing that northern Mesopotamia was invaded and settled by Hurrians at this time, when Assyria was in decline.[6] But the population of North Syria had also for some time been predominantly Hurrian,[7] and the sequel suggests that the North Syrian kingdoms had a part in the invasion. Khattushilish, faced by this menacing situation, abandoned the Arzawa campaign and turned against the eastern enemy. Three cities are mentioned as the object of his vengeance Nenashsha, Ullumma (Ulma), and Shallakhshuwa. The account is laconic, but evidently the situation was temporarily saved and the king was able to return to Khattusha for the winter.

[1] G. 4, 55–6; §IV, 3, 11 and 34; A, 32, 258 f.
[2] §IV, 2, 21 f.
[3] See above, p. 230.
[4] See above, p. 233.
[5] §IV, 5, 64 with n. 7; §IV, 11, 79 n. 16; A, 18, 72–3.
[6] A, 18, 66.
[7] §II, 14, 23; §IV, 7, 384; §IV, 9, 64; §IV, 15, 9.

The next two years seem to have been occupied in local operations. 'Shanakhut', the objective of the fourth campaign, may or may not be another variant of Shanakhuitta, which the king had failed to capture in the first year. The place was taken after a six months' siege. Alahha, which was captured in the fifth year, is difficult to locate.

In the sixth year, however, the king embarked on another major campaign through the Taurus Mountains. His objective was the city of Khashshu (or Khashshuwa), a Hurrian kingdom probably situated just east of the Euphrates,[1] which may have lent its support to the invasion of Hittite territory three years earlier and thus invited retribution. Zaruna, which lay on his route, was first destroyed. Khashshu then offered resistance and was supported by Khalba (Aleppo), which here appears for the first time. Battle was joined at Mount Adalur, elsewhere associated with the Amanus Mountains,[2] and the Syrian forces were routed, after which Khattushilish crossed the Euphrates and destroyed Khashshu. He then returned to the west bank to attack the city of Khahhu (Hittite Khahha).[3] Capturing *en route* the town of Zippashna, he defeated the troops of Khahhu, destroyed and plundered the city and led its king into captivity. Summarizing the campaign, he compares his exploit in leading his troops across the Euphrates on foot with a previous crossing in the opposite direction by Sargon of Akkad. This exploit, which had never before been accomplished by a Hittite king (but was later repeated by Cyrus the younger)[4] forms the climax of the king's narrative, and with it the text ends abruptly.

For further details of the reign of Khattushilish we have to depend on brief allusions in the contemporary Hittite documents some of which seem to refer to the campaigns just described, and on the Hittite traditional literature, in which historical material is often mixed with anecdotes of a trivial nature and—for older events—with supernatural elements.[5]

In the recollection of succeeding generations it is clear that the reign of Khattushilish was dominated by his Syrian wars, and that the kingdom of Iamkhad (Aleppo, Khalba) was his real opponent and rival. We are told in a later treaty that 'in former days the kings of Aleppo possessed a great kingdom; Khattushilish caused (the days of) their kingdom to be full, but Murshilish destroyed

[1] A, 25, 4; above, ch. I, sect. IV. [2] §III, 2, 34 ff,

[3] On the location of Khahhu see §IV, 3, 10–11, with earlier literature and A, 25, 4.

[4] Xenophon, *Anabasis*, I, 4, 17. [5] §III, 4, *passim*.

it'.[1] It is generally agreed that the second clause implies that Khattushilish began to attack and diminish the territories of this 'great kingdom' (a status not yet claimed by the Hittites themselves).[2] He must, however, have met with a reverse, perhaps even received a mortal injury. For in a fragmentary inscription summarizing Hittite dealings with Aleppo it is stated that 'Murshilish (adopted son and successor of Khattushilish) set out [against Aleppo] to avenge his father's [blood]; and whereas Khattushilish passed on Aleppo [to his son] to deal with, he (Murshilish) punished the king of Aleppo'.[3] An edict of Khattushilish threatens destruction on Aleppo: 'The man of the city Zalpa rejected the father's word: behold that city Zalpa! The man of the city Khashshuwa rejected the father's word: behold that city Khashshuwa! Now even the man of the city Aleppo has rejected the father's word: Aleppo also shall be destroyed.'[4] The long-lasting feud with Zalpa and the destruction of Khashshuwa in the sixth year have already been mentioned. We may infer that further campaigns in the Syrian arena occupied the rest of the reign of Khattushilish without achieving a decisive result, perhaps even ending in disaster.

Fragments of a Hittite legend about these Syrian wars, which have recently come to light, have provided a welcome link with the history of Alalakh and Aleppo in the personality of one Zukrashi, a general of the king of Aleppo,[5] for this individual is recorded as a witness on a document from Alalakh by which Ammitaqum of Alalakh declared his will before his suzerain, Iarimlim (III) of Aleppo. In the Hittite text this general, together with a leader of the Umman Manda, brings troops to the aid of the king of Khashshu in his resistance to the Hittite king. In another fragment, probably of the same text, the kings of Aleppo, Iarimlim and his son Hammurabi, are mentioned. The text, as far as preserved, is free of mythological elements and is likely to refer to a campaign of Khattushilish rather than to events of a remote past, as has been claimed.[6] On the other hand, it cannot be too far removed in time from the downfall of Ammitaqum of Alalakh, since Zukrashi still holds the same appointment which he held in the reign of Ammitaqum. We may

[1] §IV, 5, 60 f. Text: §I, 2, no. 49.
[2] §IV, 9, 52 f., n. 89; §IV, 12, 12. But cf. A, 46, 122 n. 26.
[3] §IV, 9, 52 f., n. 89. Text: §IV, 4, no. 20. [4] §IV, 4, no. 10, 30 ff.
[5] §III, 3, 70; §IV, 1, 30; §IV, 2, 22; §IV, 6, 22, 26; §IV, 9, 52; §IV, 11, 78 n. 14.
[6] §IV, 1, 30 ff.; A, 46, 118 ff.

therefore conclude that this composition described events in the campaign against Khashshu which took place in the 'sixth' year, four years after the destruction of Alalakh. The precise meaning of Umman Manda in this context is uncertain. Whatever the original significance of the term, its use in the Hittite laws shows that it had a special connotation for the Hittites, though this cannot at present be determined.[1]

A particularly well-preserved text, in the Akkadian language, describes in literary form a siege of the city of Urshu which, as is generally agreed, must have been an episode in these wars of Khattushilish I.[2] The composition takes the form of a series of anecdotes about the incompetence of the Hittite officers but contains much valuable historical material. The king directs the operations from the city of Lukhuzzantiya (elsewhere Lawazantiya) in the Taurus foothills of eastern Cilicia[3] (it has been conjecturally identified with the mound Karahüyük near Elbistan[4]). Urshu is in contact with, perhaps allied with, the state of the Hurri, the city of Aleppo, and the city of Aruar or Zaruar,[5] perhaps also with the city of Carchemish, the forces of which are ensconced on a mountain overlooking the city and keeping watch. All these powers maintain ambassadors within the city and the Hittites are unable to prevent their free passage in and out. At one point a messenger reports that the Hurrians are preoccupied with a dynastic dispute and the moment is considered opportune for a decisive attack by the Hittites, but the general in command fails to act in time and the opportunity is lost. At another point the king gives orders for a battering-ram to be hewn out from the trees in the mountains of Khashshu, which presumably indicates that the town of Khashshu was already in Hittite hands.[6] This narrative is historically of great interest; for the 'destruction' of the land of Urshu is placed by the bilingual 'Annals' in the 'second' year, that of Khashshu not until the 'sixth'. The episode of the siege can hardly, therefore, have been part of the campaign of the 'second' year. It must in fact have occurred later in the reign, and it appears to follow, either that the 'destruction' of Urshu in the second year amounted to no more than a raid on the city's territories, or that the Hurrian invasion of the

[1] Cf. above, ch. I, sect. VIII; §II, 2, 247 f.; §IV, 1, 31.
[2] G, 8, 178–9; §I, 2, no. 29; §III, 4, 133 ff.; A, 32, 261 f.
[3] G, 4, 52–3; G, 6, 71–3; §IV, 3, 10–11.
[4] A, 4, 320; cf. A, 36, *s.v.* no. 346.
[5] §III, 3, 72 n. 208; §IV, 9, 64 n. 157; A, 32, 168 n. 83.
[6] But cf. A, 25, 4; A, 34, 459.

'third' year reconstituted the kingdom of Urshu under Hurrian tutelage and necessitated its reconquest.

Khattushilish, like Labarnash, is said to have made the sea his frontier, and in view of the facts just described, it is clear that the Mediterranean Sea is intended. In the north, we are told in a later treaty, 'Labarnash-Khattushilish'[1] established a defended frontier on the River Kummeshmakhash.[2] This river was in a remote area not often visited by the Hittite kings and has been tentatively identified with either the Devrez,[3] the Yeşilirmak (Iris),[4] or the Çekerek (Scylax);[4] the region beyond it remained till the end of the empire more or less *terra incognita.* In another late treaty it is stated that 'Labarnash' had conquered Arzawa and Wilusa.[5] Whether this refers to Khattushilish I or a predecessor it is difficult to say. We have seen that early in his reign Khattushilish was obliged to abandon a campaign against Arzawa when danger threatened in his rear; but a collection of anecdotes relating to a later part of his reign records the land of 'Arzawiya' as already the seat of a resident governor.[6] If Arzawa was indeed in the possession of either Khattushilish I or his predecessor, it would mean that these early kings controlled, for a time, a territory which in a south-westerly direction at least represented the farthest limit of expansion attained by the most powerful emperors of the fourteenth and thirteenth centuries.

The internal harmony of the realm, by which Telepinush sought to explain the successes of these early monarchs, seems to have been largely a figment of his imagination. We have seen how already the accession of Labarnash was disputed by the nobles and a rival pretender named Papakhdilmakh was set on the throne.[7] In this young kingdom each successive ruler had to establish his own authority and Labarnash was no exception. Once secure on the throne, he dealt mercilessly with the offenders. However, the latent rivalries and factions within the royal family broke out again during the reign of his successor, Khattushilish, as we learn from the records of pronouncements made by him at the end of his reign, when apparently on his death-bed. One son named Khuzziyash, who had been appointed ruler of a city Tapashshanda (otherwise unknown), listened to the seditious

[1] Usually translated 'Labarnash (and) Khattushilish' but the conjunction is not in the text and has to be supplied. (See, however, A, 50, 19 n. 1.)

[2] §1, 2, no. 62 (ii, 5); G, 4, 119.

[3] G, 4, 24.

[4] A, 24, 96; A, 50, 19 n. 2.

[5] *Alakšanduš* treaty, §1, 2, no. 50; G, 4, 102.

[6] §IV, 4, no. 12A (i, 11); §IV, 8, 189 ff.

[7] See above, p. 237.

advice of the citizens and was apparently punished for his disloyalty. Simultaneously the people of Khattusha itself approached a person described as 'the daughter' (presumably the king's daughter) and persuaded her to lead a revolt which caused grave loss and destruction. Another son, Khakkarpilish, who had been sent to govern Zalpa at the request of its elders, himself initiated a rebellion, the result of which is unknown.[1] Well might Khattushilish lament bitterly that no member of his family had obeyed his will. It appears that he had no more sons to succeed him and was obliged to adopt a nephew, also named Labarnash, a son of his sister. But this young man too proved disloyal. We possess the text of a speech in which the king, lying sick at Kushshar, still apparently his residential, though no longer his administrative capital, announced the disinheritance of Labarnash and the final adoption of a boy named Murshilish, probably his grandson.[2] The following passages from this remarkable text (one of the earliest in the whole archive, though preserved only on later copies) bring vividly to mind the stern embittered personality of this ancient king.

Behold, I have fallen sick. The young Labarnash I had proclaimed to you, saying 'He shall sit upon the throne'; I called him my son, embraced (?) him, and cared for him continually. But he showed himself a youth not fit to be seen; he shed no tears, he showed no pity, he was cold and heartless.... The word of the king he has not laid to heart, but the word of his mother, the serpent, he has laid to heart.... Enough! He is my son no more.... Then his mother bellowed like an ox: 'They have torn asunder the womb in my living body! They have ruined him and you will kill him!' Have I, the king, done him any evil?... Now he shall never again go down (from the city) freely [wherever he will]. Behold, I have given my son Labarnash a house, I have given him [arable land] in plenty, [sheep in] plenty I have given him. Let him now eat and drink. [So long as he is good] he may come up to the city. [But] if he stand forward (?) as [a trouble-maker (?)]... then he shall not come up, but shall remain [in his house].

Behold, Murshilish is now my son.... In place of the lion [the god will set up another] lion (?). [And in the] hour [when] a call to arms goes [forth] ... you, my servants and leading citizens, must be [at hand to help my son]. [When] three years have elapsed, he shall go on a campaign.... If you take him [while still a child] with you on a campaign, bring [him] back [safely]!

Let your kindred be [one] like that of the wolf. There shall be [strife] no more....

[The daughter has disgraced my person] and my name.... A father's word she has cast aside, [the life-]blood [of the sons of Khatti] she has sucked. Now she [is banished from the city].... In the country [a house has been assig]ned to her; she may eat and drink, [but you] must not do [her

[1] §IV, 4, no. 13. [2] So given in the Aleppo treaty, §IV, 5, 60 ff.

harm]. *She* has done wrong; *I* will not do [wrong in return]. *She* [has not called] me father, *I* will not call her my daughter.

Till now none [of my family] has obeyed my will. [But you, my son] Murshilish, *you* must obey it. Keep [your father's] word. If you keep your father's word, you will [eat bread] and drink water. When maturity [is within] you, then eat two or three times a day and do yourself well! (And when) old age is within you, then drink to satiety! And then you may set aside your father's word.

[Now] you are my chief servants, and you must keep my words. You shall only eat bread and drink water. [So Khattu]sha will stand high and my land will be [at pea]ce. But if you do not keep the king's word,. . . you will not remain alive, you will perish.

And you, (Murshilish), shall not delay nor relax. If you delay, (it will mean) the same old mischief. . . . What, my son, has been laid in (your) heart, act thereupon always.[1]

This text is unique in cuneiform literature; the nearest parallel to it is to be found in the didactic literature of the Egyptians, in the 'Instructions' to Merykare and of Ammenemes I. Whether this comparison is of any significance, however, is doubtful. Contact between Anatolia and Egypt, first attested in the time of the Fifth Dynasty, is shown by sporadic finds of Egyptian statues in Syria and Asia Minor to have been maintained, or perhaps re-established, during the Middle Kingdom.[2] But it is difficult to believe that a literary tradition deriving from the Egypt of the Middle Kingdom should have been fostered in Khatti for a century and a half without leaving any trace. The Hittite document differs in fact so widely from the Egyptian as to constitute an essentially new form of literature.

What is of greater historical importance than this speculative Egyptian parallel is the sudden appearance of Hittite cuneiform writing at this time. For the Anittash text, the only document of the archive which belongs to an earlier age, was probably not composed in its present form and cannot be used as evidence that the Hittite language was written down in cuneiform in the nineteenth century. The earliest texts composed in Old Hittite seem to belong to the later years of the reign of Khattushilish, and the natural inference is that it was shortly before this time that scribes of cuneiform were transported from one of the ancient cultural provinces of Babylonia to the Hittite capital and taught to write the Hittite language. The particular form of the script which

[1] §I, 2, no. 6 (= §IV, 4, no. 8); ed. and trans. §IV, 13.

[2] Cartouche of Sahure, found at Dorak, see *C.A.H.* I[3], pt. 2, p. 391. Middle Kingdom statues, see A, 52, 139 n. 4; *C.A.H.* I[3], pt. 2, p. 503.

they introduced cannot be derived immediately from any known school of the period and its immediate antecedents present a problem for the future. Doubtless it stems from one of the cities of northern Syria, such as Aleppo, with which the Hittites first came into contact in their southward expansion, but the early history of which is still largely unknown to us except through external sources. It is very similar to the script of level VII at Alalakh.[1]

It has been held that Khattushilish I died while his adopted son, Murshilish, was still a minor, and that a brother of the late king named Pimpirash (or Bimbirash) became regent for the boy until he should reach maturity.[2] If this were so, however, it would be strange that no reference should be made to the appointment of Pimpirash in any of the extant decrees of Khattushilish or in the edict of Telepinush, and in fact this view rests on an interpretation of a fragmentary document which cannot be sustained.[3] The evidence is insufficient to determine the role played by Pimpirash in the early Hittite kingdom.

The reign of Murshilish was critical in the history of the Hittite kingdom. If we may believe the brief accounts of it that have survived, the king's attention was entirely devoted to a military adventure far to the south. His first care was to 'avenge his father's blood' by settling accounts with Aleppo. No details are known, but more than one document records the fact that Aleppo was destroyed by Murshilish.[4] Presumably this meant the end of the powerful kingdom of Iamkhad which had governed northern Syria since the time of Hammurabi of Babylon.

For the sequel we have nothing but the statement of Telepinush that Murshilish destroyed Babylon and defeated all the lands of the Hurrians. The destruction of Babylon was remembered with pride by later generations as a feat of arms never again equalled by the Hittite kings. It is also the one event in early Hittite history which is confirmed by external sources; for the Babylonian Chronicle, recording the end of the First Dynasty of Babylon, states: 'In the time of Samsuditana the men of Khatti marched against the land of Akkad.' It thus links Hittite chronology with that of Babylonia, for if the death of Samsuditana occurred in 1595 B.C., the Hittite raid must be placed either at or shortly after that date.[5] None the less it raises questions which can as yet be only partially answered. For the result of this Hittite victory

[1] See A, 15, 406 ff. [2] §IV, 4, 6*; §IV, 13, 211.

[3] The statement 'I, Pimpirash, have protected the king' may be translated 'I, Pimpirash, have been loyal to the king'.

[4] See above, p. 243. [5] §IV, 9, 71 f.; *C.A.H.* I[3], pt. 1, pp. 212 f.

was the establishment not of a Hittite, but of a Kassite dynasty in Babylonia. Why then did the Hittite king undertake this ambitious campaign if only to yield the fruit of victory to others? Why was the Hittite army allowed to march apparently unopposed for a distance of roughly five hundred miles down the Euphrates and to capture at a blow a city which only a few generations earlier had been the capital of a powerful empire? And at what point in the campaign did Murshilish encounter the Hurrians and defeat them?

The clue to these problems must lie in the history of the district of Khana on the Middle Euphrates, around the mouth of the River Khabur. This region, once part of the kingdom of Mari, had been captured by Hammurabi of Babylon in the year 1761 B.C. and remained firmly in Babylonian hands till at least the end of the reign of Samsuiluna. Under Abieshu' or Ammiditana it seems to have regained its independence. At least six kings are known to have ruled at Khana contemporaneously with the last four kings of the First Dynasty of Babylon,[1] and it is in their records that the first traces of Kassite influence in Mesopotamia have been detected;[2] one of these kings of Khana even bore a Kassite name. Now there is reason to believe that the early kings of the Kassite dynasty which later ruled Babylon as its Third Dynasty, belong to this same period. There would then have existed at that time a Kassite kingdom somewhere in central Mesopotamia and in close contact with the kingdom of Khana at the mouth of the Khabur.[3] The matter is highly controversial and can at present only be treated as a hypothesis. It is clear, however, that in 1595 B.C. Murshilish could not have attacked Babylon without passing through this region, and, if indeed it was part of the Kassite sphere of influence, since he clearly did not defeat the Kassites, he must have become their ally. Thus the initiative for the attack on Babylon might have come from the Kassites. We might suppose that the Hittites were invited to assist on the understanding that they were to receive a share of the booty, and it is precisely the rich booty brought back to Khattusha that is emphasized in the Hittite accounts. Alternatively, it has been suggested that Murshilish sought the alliance with the Kassites as a bulwark against the rising power of the Hurrians.[4] In either case the permanent conquest of Babylon could never have been con-

[1] §III, 3, 63 ff.; §IV, 9 62 ff.; above, ch. I, sect. VI.
[2] This is disputed, §III, 3, 64 f.; above, ch. I, sect. VI.
[3] See again above, ch. I, sect. VI.
[4] §IV, 9, 65. For a different explanation see A, 46, 121 ff. and A, 47, 119 ff.

templated by Murshilish and his abandonment of the city to his Kassite allies would need no further explanation.

The reference to the Hurrians is less obscure. It would be natural to assume that their defeat was connected with the destruction of Aleppo, for we have seen that Khattushilish had frequently encountered the Hurrians in that area; and indeed one text clearly associates the two events.[1] In view of this, Telepinush, in recording the defeat of the Hurrians after the destruction of Babylon, would seem to have placed the two events in the wrong order. Otherwise we must infer that the Hurrians attacked Murshilish on his way home.

Laden with booty, the young king returned to Khattusha; but he was not to enjoy the fruits of his victory. After an unstated period, probably only a year or two, Khantilish, the husband of his own sister, Kharapshilish, was prevailed on by his son-in-law, Zidantash, to take part in a conspiracy. Murshilish was struck down by the hand of an assassin and Khantilish assumed the throne.

Thus ended the first period of Hittite expansion. Murshilish had apparently taken no steps to consolidate his successes or to provide for a firm government at home, and his assassination marked the beginning of a period of disasters which brought the Hittite kingdom itself to the verge of extinction.

V. EARLY HITTITE SOCIETY

Central Anatolia, now a bleak and desiccated plateau crossed by fertile but isolated valleys, seems to have enjoyed in antiquity a much more copious rainfall than today, with consequent effects upon its vegetation and easier living conditions for its inhabitants.[2] None the less, the nature of the country would foster the growth of largely self-contained communities, and it is clear that throughout the Hittite period these local communities preserved their individuality, though in consequence of the unification of the country under the dynasty of Khattusha the many local kings (Assyrian *rubaum*) attested during the period of the Assyrian merchants had been eliminated. Local government was apparently in the hands of 'Elders'.[3] Whether there were holy cities, as in Strabo's time, governed by the priesthood of the local temple, cannot be stated with any certainty owing to insufficient evidence.[4]

Scarcely anything is known of the general social structure of these communities. The majority of the population would be

[1] §IV, 4, no. 20. On this episode see §IV, 7, 384 f.
[2] §V, 4. [3] A, 33, 223 ff. [4] §V, 2, 18.

engaged directly in the tilling of the land, but there was apparently a well-defined class of artisans,[1] and travelling merchants are also mentioned;[2] it is impossible to estimate the proportion of the population engaged in these pursuits. Slavery is attested in the later centuries of the Hittite empire; but in the law code, which reflects conditions obtaining under the Old Kingdom, the position of the slave (or servant) resembles rather that of the Babylonian *muškēnum*, for he apparently pays and receives compensation for injury, may own land and other property, and is thus a legal 'person', with rights and duties of his own. This is not slavery in the usual sense of the term.[3]

Since kings and palaces had once existed in many Anatolian cities, there is no reason to suppose that the eventual supremacy of Kushshar and Khattusha was the result of special conditions in those two places. Hence the apparent absence of any authority higher than the council of Elders in other cities during the Hittite period is presumably the result of the Hittite conquest. For at Khattusha there was a sharp cleavage between the government and the governed, and the 'Elders' together with the common people belong to the latter. This is clear from the words of King Khattushilish addressing his son Murshilish: 'The Elders of Khatti shall not speak to you, neither shall a man of... nor of Khemmuwa nor of Tamalkiya, nor a man of...nor indeed any of the people of the country speak to you.' This probably implies merely that the king was always to be approached through his ministers. But this speech was delivered to an assembly specially convened to take cognizance of the king's decision in the matter of the royal succession; the assembly consisted of the 'fighting men of the whole body (of citizens) and the dignitaries', that is, all those concerned in affairs of state, and it is evident that the 'elders and the people of the country' were not among them.[4] We may contrast the institutions of the ancient Sumerians, as when Gilgamesh consulted the assembly of townspeople and the elders of the city of Uruk on a question of peace or war.[5] Clearly the Hittite state was the creation of an exclusive aristocracy, but there is no textual support for the view that this class division had a racial basis and that the ruling caste is to be identified with the Indo-European element in the nation.

Within the aristocracy there were certain distinctions of class and function. The kinsmen of the king apparently formed a

[1] G, 7, 104; G, 8, 70; §v, 1, 97.
[2] §v, 1, 16 and 50, Laws 5 and III (cf. *ibid.* 91); G, 7, 120.
[3] A, 35; A. Goetze in G, 9, 28–9. [4] §v, 2, 19–21. [5] A, 30, 159 ff.

privileged group, known as the 'great family', but it is not clear in what their privileges consisted. They frequently, if not always, hold the chief offices of state, such as Chief of the *mešedi* (a kind of body-guard), Chief Wine Pourer, Chief of the Palace Servants, Chief of the Golden Grooms, etc., and the holding of one or other of these appointments seems often to have carried with it a high military command. It is doubtless these 'heads of departments' who are referred to, as a body, under the titles *kabtuti* 'dignitaries', *rabuti* 'great ones, noblemen', and *ḫantezziyaš* 'men of the first rank'.[1] Each department had its own personnel under the command of its respective officer, and it is probably they who are alluded to collectively as the 'fighting men and servants of the king'.[2] Thus if the titles of the functionaries are any guide, the historical structure of Hittite society would seem to have developed out of what was originally nothing but the staff of the king's palace.

What was the position of the king in this society? It has been maintained that the assembly convened by Khattushilish and Telepinush was a constitutional body possessing rights which limited the power of the king, hence by implication that the monarchy was originally elective (as we know it to have been among the Anglo-Saxons and other Indo-European peoples), and that during the period we are considering we may detect a constitutional struggle between the nobles with their ancient rights and the king who was endeavouring to establish the principle of hereditary succession.[3] However, the first part of this theory can hardly be maintained. Whether or not the citizens had ever claimed certain rights, it is clear from the great speech of Khattushilish that the king did not recognize them. In the matter of the succession the king's will is made known to his citizens and they are ordered to comply. But it is significant that the earliest recorded event in the history of this kingdom is the nomination by the noblemen of a rival king in opposition to Labarnash, who had been officially designated as heir by his father and predecessor. The king relates this incident as an offence, not as an assertion of ancient rights; yet it shows the great power possessed by the nobles in the early Hittite state. The danger of a conflict of will between the nobility and the king is implicit in the constant insistence by the king on 'unity' in the realm, in the inculcation of obedience by means of admonitory examples which is such a typical feature of the texts of this period, even in the very fact that a public act of designation of the heir to the throne was felt to be

[1] §IV, 13, 153 f.; § V, 5. [2] §IV, 13, 4 f., line 22.
[3] G, 7, 86; A. Goetze in G, 9, 25 ff. Cf. §IV, 13, 209; §V, 2, 19.

necessary at all. The edict of Telepinush finally established a legal basis for the succession, but only after a century of bloodshed had taught the nobles by bitter experience the consequences of a lack of civic discipline.

Though we thus accept the existence of a political struggle between the nobles and the king during the Old Kingdom, it is now clear that the evidence on which this view rests is not necessarily connected with the term *pankuš*, which, though primarily an adjective meaning 'entire', is used in the edict of Telepinush as if it were the name of the popular assembly and has been rendered above as 'whole body of citizens'. In this assembly the emphasis is on the rank and file, the 'fighting men and servants of the king', indeed it seems probable that they and they only constitute the *pankuš*, and that the 'dignitaries', who appear among the audience in the address of Khattushilish but not in the edict of Telepinush, were strictly speaking not included in that body. The assemblies convened by these two kings play a purely passive role as the audience before which they made known their will in important affairs of state.

But at the same time it seems clear from the proclamation of Telepinush that in the judicial sphere the *pankuš* possessed a positive function in the state, namely as a court of law for the punishment of malefactors. It is somewhat difficult owing to our lack of knowledge to disentangle the reforms instituted by Telepinush from the system which he was reforming. For the latter the most useful passage is that in which Telepinush describes how three minor officials, who had carried out the murder of two former kings at the instigation of certain high-ranking dignitaries, came up before the *pankuš* and were condemned to death, and how as soon as the king heard of it he ordered their reprieve and the conversion of their sentence into one of degradation and banishment. In the sequel Telepinush twice reminds his audience of this case as an illustration of his purpose, which was to ensure that the instigator of a crime, however high his rank, should suffer punishment in his own person and should not in future expect to escape scot-free by employing a 'man of straw' to commit the deed. He accordingly orders the *pankuš* to execute stern judgement not only on the dignitaries (who are actually their own officers in a functional capacity) but also on the king himself and the royal princes if the occasion should arise. To what extent this was an innovation it is difficult to say, but it is at least certain that Telepinush did not create, though he may have extended, the judicial functions of the *pankuš*.

The undeniably Indo-European character of early Hittite institutions such as the *pankuš*, which are no longer found in the later Empire, suggests that the Indo-European aristocracy had not yet merged, as it did later, with the native Khattian population. This inference may, however, be only partially true; for in other respects this aristocracy must even at this early stage have totally assimilated the customs and beliefs of their subjects. Their royal names—Labarnash, Tudkhaliash, Khattushilish—are purely Khattian. So too is their religion. Khattushilish the 'man of Kushshar', brings booty to the temple of the 'Sun-goddess of Arinna' exactly as do the emperors of the fourteenth century. Anitta acknowledges allegiance to the 'Weather-god of Heaven' and Khalmashuitta. These are Khattian deities. It has indeed been suggested that the Weather-god of Heaven, whose name (concealed behind an ideogram) ends in *-unna*, was the Indo-European Zeus, who had been married to the local matriarch;[1] but until sound philological support can be adduced for this theory it remains a mere hypothesis. The one deity whose name is genuinely Hittite, the god Shiushmish (literally 'their god'), is of secondary importance; he appears as the local god of the conquered city of Nesha, the very home of the *našili* language, and it is only after his conquest of Nesha that Anitta acknowledges allegiance to him.[2] The Khattian deities are in a full sense the national patrons of the Hittite rulers; there is no suggestion that in paying respect to them they are placating the local population. In the political sphere, moreover, the prominent position accorded to the queen has a strongly Anatolian appearance.[3] If this was an Indo-European aristocracy, such a thoroughgoing adoption of native customs implies a considerable lapse of time and does not favour the view that at the beginning of the Hittite Old Kingdom, or even at the time of Anitta, they were recent arrivals in the country. Whether, conversely, the native population had already adopted the Hittite language is difficult to say. The tablets in which Khattian passages are furnished with translations into Hittite appear to be all comparatively late. On the other hand, since the texts contain no ethnic designation for the subject population, such as, for instance, the term *Kaška* of later centuries,[4] we may be justified in assuming that they in their turn had become, or were fast becoming, linguistically assimilated to their rulers and were therefore no longer felt by them to be racially distinct.

[1] §v, 3, 179 f.
[2] §11, 13, 343 n. 69.
[3] G, 7, 92; §v, 3, 181.
[4] G, 7, 178 f.; A, 50, 14–15 and 88.

CHAPTER XV

ANATOLIA *c.* 1600–1380 B.C.

I. THE OLD HITTITE KINGDOM (*continued*)

IN this chapter we take up again the history of the Hittite Kingdom from the moment when an usurper first assumed the throne by violent means. Owing to the recovery in recent years of a well-preserved contemporary text we have been able to follow the events of at least part of the reign of Khattushilish I in considerable detail. The figure of this ancient ruler dominates the period of the Old Kingdom, down to the accession of Telepinush, principally on account of this much fuller documentation. For his successors we are dependent almost entirely on the Edict of Telepinush, described above;[1] but following the murder of Murshilish I, even this precious document becomes mutilated, and though no less than seven paragraphs were devoted to the reign of his successor, Khantilish I, as compared with only three to Khattushilish, little consecutive sense can be made from them.[2]

Khantilish had been a cup-bearer and was married to a sister of Murshilish named Kharapshilish.[3] It is likely, therefore, that Khantilish was a man of about the same age as his predecessor. The narrative of Telepinush is concerned to stress the impious and monstrous nature of the act of blood committed by Khantilish and his son-in-law, Zidantash, rather than to present the history of his reign in an objective manner. It even omits to mention that he became king, but this fact can hardly be doubted, since his wife is referred to as the queen.[4] The text states that after the assassination 'Khantilish was afraid', and goes on to describe how after an unspecified period, during which he was campaigning, possibly against the Hurrians, far to the south in the region of Carchemish, he came to Tegarama (probably modern Gürün, west of Malatya),[5] and then the gods sought vengeance for the

[1] See above, ch. VI, sect. IV. Text: G, 21, no. 21 (G, 7, no. 23).

[2] The broken sections are omitted in the translation, §1, 18, 183 ff.

[3] The text has 'wife' for 'sister'; but the emendation (a very slight one) is necessary because, even if it were possible that Khantilish could have been married in any sense to the wife of Murshilish, it clearly was not so, since the wife of Murshilish was named Kali (G, 23, 51, List 'A', 1, 5). See G, 12, 55.

[4] G, 12, 56 n. 36, etc.

[5] G, 8, 46 ff., with earlier literature.

blood of Murshilish. He returned to Khattusha, but apparently the Hurrians got the upper hand and 'the country was overturned'. A fragmentary passage of the Akkadian version of the decree suggests that the Hurrians may even have captured the queen, Kharapshilish, and her sons, and brought them to Shugziya (not located, somewhere in the Taurus area). Here indeed they met their death, but hardly at the hands of the Hurrians, since Khantilish was able to punish those responsible.

Subsequently, we are told, Khantilish became old and was about to die. His reign must therefore have been a long one, but the decree of Telepinush, in its present state, gives no further details of events. Contemporary documents are few and contribute little. In one fragment Khantilish boasts that he was the first to build fortified cities in the country and that he 'built', i.e. fortified, Khattusha itself.[1] Another is concerned only with a ritual of purification.[2] In later texts, however, we learn from incidental references that on the northern frontier at two points the Hittites suffered reverses in his time. The holy city Nerik was captured by the Kaska (or Gasga) folk[3] and remained deserted for some 500 years; and the city of Tiliura was allowed to become 'an outpost' and eventually succumbed also to the invaders.[4] This is the earliest appearance of the Kaska folk in Hittite history, though we have surmised that their original occupation of the northern hills may have occurred in the reign of Khattushilish.[5] Their presence was a constant threat to the security of the Hittite homelands from this time on, and the combined pressure of these northern tribes, on the one hand, and the Hurrians on the other, fully accounts for the strengthening of the Hittite defences and for the decline in Hittite fortunes which occurred during the reign of Khantilish.

To return to the narrative of Telepinush: we are told that when the death of Khantilish seemed imminent, his son-in-law, Zidantash—the same who had instigated the murder of Murshilish, and therefore a man no longer young—now turned his hand against Kashshenish,[6] the son of Khantilish, and killed him together with his sons and servants. He was thus able to claim the throne. But the gods avenged the blood of Kashshenish, and Zidantash was himself assassinated by his own son, Ammunash

[1] G, 7, no. 20 (=G, 21, no. 11), rev. 16.
[2] G, 7, no. 22 (= G, 21, nos. 15–16).
[3] G, 21, no. 504(4); G, 11, 24.
[4] G, 21, no. 62; G, 8, 119 f.; but cf. A, 27, 19.
[5] See above, ch. VI, sect. IV.
[6] Formerly read Pishenish; see G, 12, 56 n. 40.

(in his own inscription the latter, none the less, proclaimed that he had 'ascended the throne of his father', as if nothing unusual had occurred).[1] The reign of Zidantash was evidently short and he has left no inscriptions of his own. Some have ascribed to him the fragment of a treaty with Pelliya, a king of Kizzuwadna.[2] There are, however, strong arguments against this ascription of the fragment.[3] Above all, the 'Country of Adaniya' (= Adana), the central part of Kizzuwadna,[4] is named as a province lost to the Hittites in the following reign. Kizzuwadna cannot, then, have existed already as an established kingdom in the reign of Zidantash, and the fragment must be ascribed to Zidantash II (see below).

Under Ammunash the fortunes of the kingdom rapidly declined and his reign was remembered as a time of disaster. The army suffered constant reverses and many provinces of the kingdom were lost, among them the countries Adaniya and Arzawiya and the cities of Shallapa and Parduwata (the remainder are otherwise unknown).[5] This is an important piece of evidence for the extent of the kingdom in the preceding reigns and has already been used to show that the plain of Cilicia was probably in Hittite hands as early as the reign of Khattushilish I.[6] It is highly probable that in this terse statement we have an allusion to a momentous transformation in the political landscape—the conquest of Cilicia by a Hurrian or Indo-Aryan dynasty and the establishment of the kingdom of Kizzuwadna. This is the time, according to recent and (in our opinion) cogent arguments, when Idrimi became king of Alalakh in Syria and ruled for thirty years.[7] It is consistent with the abject condition of the Hittite state in the reign of Ammunash that this Syrian princeling is able to boast of having raided seven Hittite border towns with impunity, among them Zaruna, a place mentioned in the course of the campaign of the sixth year of Khattushilish I and so in the region of the Amanus.[8] Idrimi was a vassal of Parattarna, the king under whom the Hurrians first extended their influence over north

[1] G, 21, no. 19. But see below, p. 662 n. 8.

[2] G, 21, no. 17; §1, 16 (retracted in G, 24, 351); §1, 15, 108; §1, 19, 91; G, 28, 42 (von Schuler).

[3] G, 12, 72 f.; G, 15, 385 n. 17; cf. G, 19, 49.

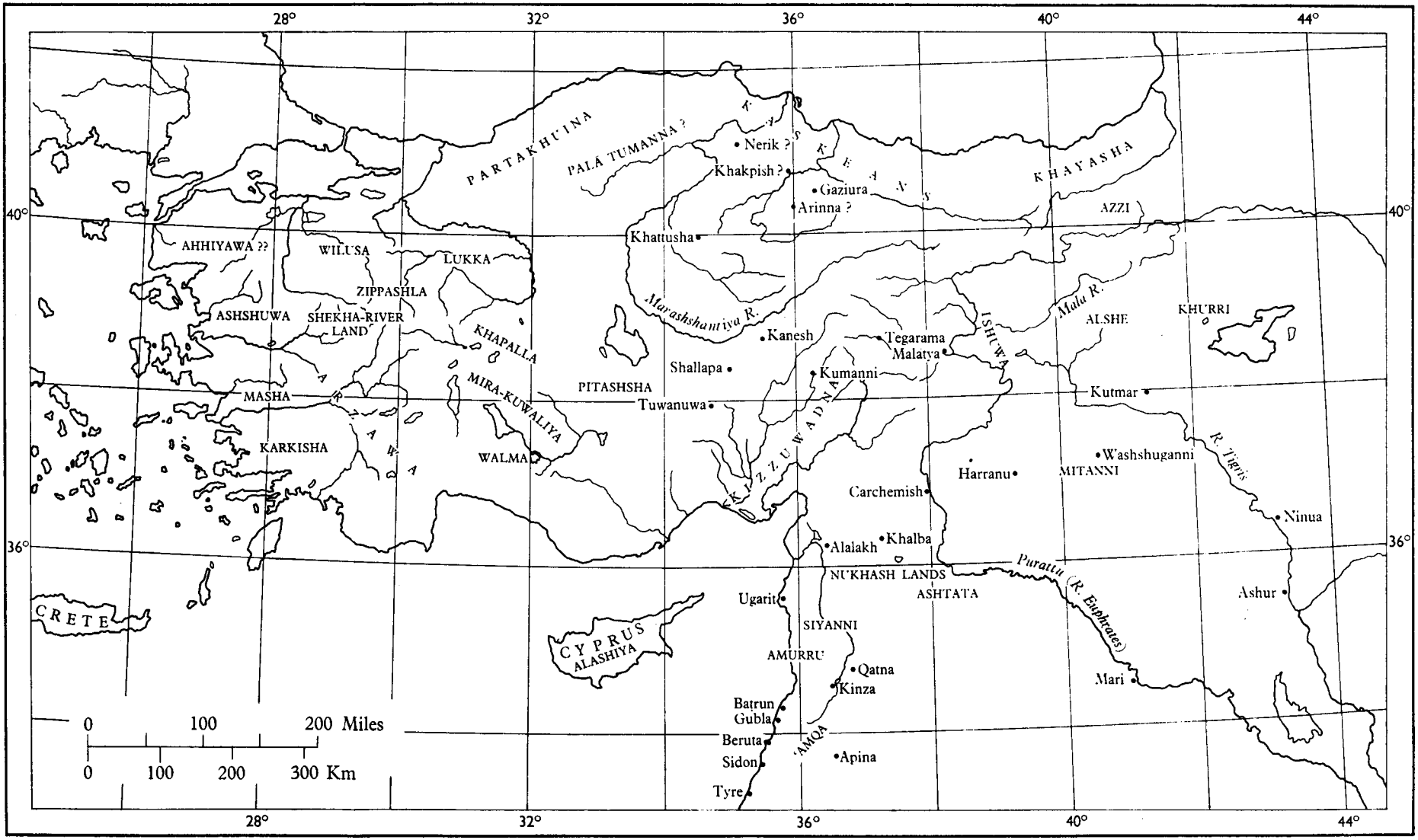
[4] G, 10, 56 ff.

[5] G, 10, 57.

[6] See above, ch. VI, sect. IV. The Hittite land-deed found at Tarsus (§11, 25, 344) points to the same conclusion.

[7] *C.A.H.* I[3], pt. 1, ch. VI, sect. II. Cf. below, p. 670 n. 6.

[8] §1, 17, 18–19 (ll. 64 ff.).



Map 6. Ancient Asia Minor and Northern Mesopotamia

Syria and Mesopotamia,[1] and he concluded a treaty with one Pelliya, concerned with the extradition of fugitives.[2] This Pelliya cannot, it is true, be identified with the king of Kizzuwadna who concluded a treaty with a Zidantash of Khatti, for the reasons just given, but the identity of name (and spelling) suggests that he was a predecessor in the same dynasty.[3] If he was the first king of Kizzuwadna, it is not unlikely that at the time of this treaty his country had not yet acquired a recognized name. The Hurrian conquests excluded the Hittites for about a century from the rich plains south of the Taurus mountains; indeed Kizzuwadna remained in control of Cilicia till about the end of the reign of Shuppiluliumash,[4] forcing later Hittite kings to take the more difficult route to Syria through the passes of the Antitaurus, even though from time to time kings of the two countries became sufficiently friendly to enter into a treaty relationship with one another.

Equally significant is the reference to the loss of Arzawiya, together with Shallapa and Parduwata. Since we know that the city of Shallapa lay on the road to Arzawa, and since Parduwata occurs in another document next to the River Shehiriya, which also lay on this road,[5] there can be no doubt that 'Arzawiya' is identical with the later 'Arzawa';[6] but unfortunately the location of this important country is one of the most controversial matters in Hittite political geography, and we are still unable to say more than that it lay to the west or south-west of the Hittite homeland with a capital city on the sea coast.[7] The loss of these areas must have thrown the Hittites back to the restricted territory formerly held by Labarnash.

The only existing text of Ammunash[8] is a mere fragment from which no consecutive sense can be extracted. A number of places are mentioned in it, among them Tipiya, Khashpina, Parduwata and Khahha. Of these, Parduwata, as we have just seen, was in the south or south-west, and Tipiya was in the north-east;[9] Khashpina is unknown, but Khahha—if identical with the Khahha attacked by Khattushilish I[10]—was by the Euphrates.

[1] §1, 17, 58; G, 12, 67 f.; §11, 15, 118 f. The question whether Parattarna 'King of the Hurrians' is to be understood as an early king of Mitanni is still undecided. See §1, 12, 253 ff.; §11, 15, 119 and 175 f.

[2] G, 29, no. 3.

[3] G, 27, 105 n. 46 (against G, 12, 67 f.).

[4] G, 10, 80 (cf. *ibid.* 70).

[5] G, 10, 57; G, 8, 76 and 124 (ll. 28–30). See Map 6.

[6] Cf. above, ch. VI, sect. IV.

[7] See above, ch. VI, sects. II and IV.

[8] G, 21, no. 19 (ascribed to a hypothetical earlier Ammunash in A, 21, 122 and 345 n. 28).

[9] G, 8, 32.

[10] See above, ch. VI, sect. IV; A, 8, 4; cf. G, 8, 25 f.; A, 3, 108; A, 4, 245.

The fragment thus at least confirms the widespread activities of this king and suggests a reign of considerable length.[1]

The death of Ammunash was followed by another outbreak of violence. Zurush, chief of the *mešedi*,[2] brought about the murder of Tittish and Khantilish (who are not otherwise identified), together with their sons, and thereupon a certain Khuzziyash 'became king'. We have now reached the events immediately preceding the accession of Telepinush, the author of the narrative, events which would have been so familiar to his audience that full details were unnecessary. Telepinush was married to Ishtapariyash, the elder sister of Khuzziyash; and when Khuzziyash was found to be plotting the death of his sister and brother-in-law, Telepinush acted promptly and 'drove them away', sending Khuzziyash with his five brothers into banishment. He concludes this outline of Hittite history with the formal statement that he 'seated himself on the throne of his father'.

It is not easy to fill in the background to these events satisfactorily. On the principle of *cui bono*, we may assume that Zurush acted at the instigation of Khuzziyash. The words suggest that, when once Tittish and Khantilish had been removed, Khuzziyash ascended the throne by right as the next in line. He would then have been a son of Ammunash, and Tittish and Khantilish his elder brothers.[3] His designs against his sister and brother-in-law are certainly to be accounted for by his desire to eliminate all remaining rivals. But it would not then be true that Telepinush 'ascended the throne of his father'. It has been suggested that this is an inaccurate way of referring to his father-in-law, Ammunash; or alternatively that it means no more than 'the throne belonging to the royal family'.[4] But neither explanation is entirely satisfactory. It would also be surprising, on this theory, to find that Khuzziyash had five brothers who, so far from being feared as rivals, were actually in collusion with him. This suggests rather a rivalry of families. Perhaps, then, Telepinush was telling the literal truth: he was a son of the previous king, Ammunash, and younger brother of Tittish and Khantilish. Khuzziyash, his brother-in-law, would then be an usurper who seized the throne by force with the help of the 'praetorian guard' and the support of

[1] G, 12, 56.

[2] See above, ch. VI, sect. v.

[3] So G, 5, 67; G, 12, 56.

[4] G, 12, 56; §1, 10, 208 n. 120. The theory that Telepinush means that he was a direct descendant of the line of Labarnash (§1, 14, 8 n. 20) would have required the plural *AB-BA-(A-)IA* (or AD.MEŠ–*IA*) '(throne) of my fathers', rather than *A-BI-IA*, which is in the text.

his brothers. His tenure of the throne evidently lasted a very short time.

Some idea of the extent of the kingdom at this time may be gleaned from a fragmentary list of storage depots which occurs towards the end of the decree of Telepinush. Many of these places are otherwise unknown and many are not located. Among them, however, are the following better-known cities: Shamukha, an important religious centre on a river, probably the upper Halys;[1] Marishta, in the zone inhabited by the Kaska folk, also to the north-east of the capital;[2] Khurma and Shugziya, in the Antitaurus;[3] Parshukhanda, near the central Salt Lake;[4] and the River Khulaya, south of Konya.[5] In this context the pair of names Damashkhunash and Khalippashshuwash can have no more than a chance resemblance to Damascus and Aleppo,[6] for none of these places is south of the Taurus. There is also a notable absence of any name connected with Arzawa and the west; but more than half the names in the list are broken away.

In foreign policy, the most notable event in the reign of Telepinush is his conclusion of a treaty with the king of Kizzuwadna, named Ishputakhshu. Fragments of the treaty are extant,[7] and it is mentioned in a catalogue of treaties;[8] moreover, a seal impression recovered from the mound at Tarsus bears the name 'Ishputakhshu, Great King, son of Pariyawatri', from which we learn the high standing of this ruler among his contemporaries, the name of his father, and (beyond any reasonable doubt) the location of his kingdom.[9] This is the first of the long series of treaties concluded by Hittite kings with rival powers, *protégés* and vassals,[10] and is also the earliest positive reference to the kingdom of Kizzuwadna; as recently as the reign of Ammunash we have heard only of the 'Land of Adaniya'. Ishputakhshu is a good 'Anatolian' name, perhaps belonging to the 'Kaneshite' dialect (if this is not identical with Hittite itself).[11] His father's name, however, has been claimed as Indo-Aryan, implying a connexion with the ruling clans associated with the expansion of

[1] G, 8, 32 ff.; G, 14, 47.
[2] G, 8, 13 (identified with Çorum).
[3] G, 8, 48.
[4] G, 8, 64.
[5] G, 8, 69 ff.
[6] Suggested in G, 22.
[7] G, 21, no. 20.
[8] G, 21, no. 188(9).
[9] G, 10, 73.
[10] G, 18, *passim*.
[11] See above, ch. VI, sect. II. On the name Ishputakhshu see G, 19, 50; §1, 1, 15 ff. (criticized by H. G. Güterbock, in A, 7, 154); §1, 6, 354; §1, 7, 48 f.

Hurrian power at this time[1] (though there is an alternative analysis of the name as Luwian[2]); if so, it would conform with the names of his successors, Paddatishshu and Shunashshura,[3] whereas the name of Pelliya, who probably preceded him, is typically Hurrian. The name of Ishputakhshu himself is therefore anomalous in his country and cannot invalidate the otherwise natural inference that the kingdom of Kizzuwadna represents the conquest of Cilicia by a Hurrian or Indo-Aryan dynasty.[4]

Telepinush evidently consolidated his kingdom sufficiently to enable him to push forward once more towards Syria through the passes of the Antitaurus. He mentions that he destroyed Khashshuwa and put down the revolt of a certain Lahhash in Lawazantiya, two places which we have seen to be in this area,[5] and also that a battle occurred at Zazlippa, a place which is found later as a village in Kizzuwadna.[6] We may surmise that the treaty with Ishputakhshu represents an attempt to secure his flank while these operations were in train.

We may note in passing that the seal of Ishputakhshu is the oldest datable example of the Hittite 'hieroglyphic' script. The series of seals bearing this script begins at Boğazköy at about the same time; but there the earliest dated seal is that of Alluwamnash, the successor of Telepinush.[7] In the present state of our knowledge it would be premature to draw conclusions from these facts about the history of the script. Some of the signs themselves, used as isolated symbols, are attested on earlier seal-impressions which bear no royal name, and many centuries earlier again on pots and seals found at Kültepe (Kanesh).[8]

It is, however, the internal policy of Telepinush for which his reign is chiefly notable; though in this our judgement is undoubtedly influenced by the fact that the document which forms almost our sole evidence for the reign is a decree intended to restore order in the realm. Having shown by his outline of history how, as long as the aristocracy were united behind the king, the fortunes of the kingdom prospered, but as soon as dissension and sedition broke out, disaster ensued and the army was driven back, Telepinush goes on to draw the moral. In future the nobles must again stand united in loyalty to the throne, and if they are dissatisfied with the conduct of the king or of one

[1] G, 19, 50 ff. and 130.
[2] §1, 5, 78.
[3] G, 19, 130.
[4] G, 19, 50; G, 12, 73.
[5] See above, ch. VI, sect. IV. *K.Bo.* XII, no. 8 also refers to these events.
[6] G, 10, 44f.; G, 8, 54.
[7] G, 24, 349; A, 1, 67.
[8] H. Otten, in G, 28, 14, with earlier literature; A, 1, 59 ff.

of his sons, they must have recourse to legal means of redress and refrain from taking the law into their own hands by murder. The supreme court for the punishment of wrongdoers is the *pankuš* or 'whole body' of citizens, as described above.[1] 'Whoever hereafter becomes king and plans injury against brother or sister, you are his *pankuš*'—i.e. you are yourselves the authority charged with the duty of passing judgement on him. This was most probably a very ancient institution and no innovation.[2] History showed that it had not worked well in the past, and though the irresponsibility of the nobles seems to have been arrested for a time, we may surmise that this was due more to the strong personality of the reformer than to any reform, for in fact we hear no more of the *pankuš* from this time on.

Telepinush lays down a concise law of succession. 'Let a prince, a son, of the first rank, become king. If there is no prince of the first rank, let one who is a son of the second rank become king. If, however, there is no prince, (no) son, let them take a husband for her who is a daughter of the first rank, and let him become king.'[3] Here again we must attempt to determine to what extent this ordinance was an innovation or merely a formulation of what was in fact the established custom. We have described above[4] the bilingual text of an address delivered by Khattushilish I to the assembly of fighting men and dignitaries on the occasion of his public adoption of Murshilish as heir to the throne. It has been maintained[5] that this document represents a kind of 'contract', requiring for its full legality the active consent of the nobility and affording a close parallel to certain ancient Indo-European institutions. If this were so, the hereditary principle laid down by Telepinush would have been an entirely new dispensation and would represent a victory for the monarchy over the nobility, who were finally excluded by it from any further influence on the royal succession. We have pointed out above, that the address of Khattushilish does not appear to have this character, and that even though a case is on record in which the nobles attempted to set an usurper on the throne, this is recorded as an offence and not as a legitimate exercise of ancient rights. The most that can be said is that the king was recognized as having the right to choose his successor from among his sons and

[1] See above, ch. VI, sect. V.

[2] A. Goetze, in G, 28, 26; cf. G, 24, 348.

[3] G, 21, no. 21, sect. 28. The 'rank' of the child would depend on whether the mother was the queen or a secondary wife.

[4] See above, ch. VI, sect. IV.

[5] G, 13, 86 f.; §1, 11, 242 f.

the obligation to proclaim him publicly to the assembly.[1] If no son was available, an adoption was necessary. The effect of the law of Telepinush was to abolish this freedom of choice and to substitute a fixed order of succession.

More recently, the significance of the ordinance of Telepinush has been sought in another direction.[2] It is generally agreed that the peculiar position of the Hittite queen, whose title, *tawannannaš*, was inherited only on the death of her predecessor and was retained for life, can only be explained as a survival of a system of matrilineal succession which must once have prevailed among the ancient Khattians.[3] It has been suggested that the king (*labarnaš*) was originally merely 'the queen's consort': the Indo-European immigrants would have achieved kingship by marrying the local 'matriarch', as did so many heroes of Greek legend who succeeded to thrones in Anatolia by marrying the daughter of the local king and, having done so, sought to establish their own patriarchal system. The recorded dynastic disturbances would then represent the struggle between two ways of life, a struggle which was resolved eventually in favour of the Indo-European aristocracy by the ordinance of Telepinush.

It is, however, characteristic of a matrilineal society that kingship and authority in general are exercised, not by the husband, but by the brother of the 'matriarch'. Succession passes in the female line, and so in effect a ruler is succeeded by his sister's son: the husband is outside the family. Consequently, if Tawannannash represents the ancient 'matriarch', Labarnash should have been her brother and his successor should have been her son. Is it possible that some such ideas lie behind the enigmatical phrase 'brother's son of Tawannannash' used by Khattushilish I to describe his filiation?[4] As it stands, the phrase gives just the reverse of the sense required by this hypothesis. It has, however, been suggested most recently that in the most ancient texts the logogram DUMU ('son') conceals a Hittite word belonging to the matriarchal ideology, meaning 'heir' and therefore equivalent to 'sister's son'.[5] An example of this usage has been found in the expression used by Khattushilish I of his disinherited nephew, the young Labarnash, which on this view should be translated, not 'I called him my son', but 'him, my nephew-heir, I called (summoned)'.[6] This theory has not yet stood the test of criticism and is at first sight difficult to substantiate. It is worth noting,

[1] A. Goetze, in G, 28, 26; G, 24, 348.
[2] §1, 13, 180 ff.
[3] G, 13, 93, etc.
[4] See above, ch. VI, sect. IV.
[5] §1, 3, 75.
[6] See above, ch. VI, sect. IV.

however, that it would provide a possible explanation for the filiation of Khattushilish; for the phrase, in its original Hittite form, could then have meant 'heir of the brother of Tawannannash', i.e. of his predecessor, Labarnash.

On this theory it would have been Khattushilish who first flouted tradition by adopting as heir a descendant in the male line.[1] This provoked retaliation by Khantilish and Zidantash who, however, substituted the husband for the brother of the heiress as the possessor of authority and successor to the throne. With Ammunash and possibly Telepinush, both of whom proclaimed that they had 'ascended the throne of their father', the patriarchy would finally have gained the upper hand, Khuzziyash representing, perhaps, the last and unavailing effort of the ancient social system to assert itself against the newcomers. The hypothesis is attractive, but only if it can be established that the matrilineal tradition survived as an effective force as late as the reign of Khattushilish.

In the Hittite Laws, at least, the social background is entirely patriarchal.[2] This is implicit in the phraseology: a man 'takes' his wife and thereafter 'possesses' her. If she is taken in adultery, he has the right to decide her fate (and that of the adulterer). He may dispose of his children by sale. The language of the Laws is Old Hittite, and for this reason alone the text must date from some time in the Old Kingdom. On stylistic grounds the codification of the law was formerly ascribed to Telepinush, for his edict contains in its later parts certain ordinances couched in a style very similar to that of the Laws. It has now been recognized, however, that among the numerous manuscripts of the Laws (the majority of which are later copies) there are a few which can be judged from their script to be originals, contemporary with the drafting of the Laws;[3] and when these are isolated, they are seen to possess peculiarities of grammar and orthography which suggest that they are as old as the time of Murshilish I or Khattushilish I.[4] Moreover, these old manuscripts already record ancient laws which had been reformed by the legislator at the time of writing. These facts militate strongly against the survival of matrilineal institutions in historical times, even in the royal family.

[1] NUMUN ^{D}UTU-*ŠI* (G, 7, no. 8, ii, 44).

[2] G, 13, 111 ff.; V. Korošec, in G, 6, vol. II, 293 ff. Text of the Laws in §1, 4; translation by A. Goetze in G, 26, 188 ff.

[3] §1, 8, 64; §1, 9, 17 ff.; H. Otten, in G, 28, 13; A. Goetze, *ibid.* 27 f.

[4] §1, 2.

II. THE MIDDLE HITTITE KINGDOM

From the point in the reign of Telepinush when he promulgated his constitutional decree, with its elaborate historical preamble, the source which has been the basis for our reconstruction of Hittite history under the Old Kingdom ceases to flow and the paucity of other evidence becomes immediately apparent. As a guide to the succession of kings and queens we are dependent on the so-called 'King-Lists' which were compiled for the purpose of offering sacrifices to the spirits of former rulers and other members of the royal family.[1] We learn nothing from these lists about the persons listed except their names. It has been shown, however, that although here and there the name of a king (such as that of Zidantash I in List A) is unaccountably omitted, the order of the names is chronological and trustworthy.

Ishtapariyash, the wife of Telepinush, and his son, Ammunash, died before him in unknown circumstances.[2] Of the end of his reign nothing whatever is known. His successor was one Alluwamnash (a Luwian name),[3] whose queen was Kharapshekish (the name appears in error as Kharapshilish in the lists). Fragmentary documents give Alluwamnash the title 'King's Son' and Kharapshekish 'King's Daughter'. Obviously both titles cannot be taken literally, and since the former is common in the generalized sense 'Royal Prince' it is usually assumed that Kharapshekish was in fact the daughter of Telepinush.[4] The successors of Alluwamnash are given in the lists as Khantilish, Zidantash (with queen Iyayash), Khuzziyash (with queen Shummirish), Tudkhaliash (with queen Nikkal-mati) and Arnuwandash (with queen Ashmu-Nikkal). The last two are amply attested by contemporary documents as father and son[5] and impressions of the seals of Alluwamnash, Khuzziyash and Arnuwandash are found on land-deeds of a type which is characteristic of this period.[6] There is thus no adequate ground for questioning the existence of Khantilish, Zidantash and Khuzziyash, as was formerly done.[7] Since no queen is given as consort of Khantilish, it is reasonable to suppose that Queen Kharapshekish continued as *tawannannaš*

[1] G, 23, *passim*; §II, 16, 53 ff.; A, 24, 122 ff.
[2] G, 21, no. 21, sect. 27.
[3] A. Goetze in G, 28, 24.
[4] G, 12, 57.
[5] G, 12, 57 n. 52 (referring to §II, 13, no. 76).
[6] §II, 13, 47 ff.; §II, 25, *passim*; E. von Schuler in G, 28, 49.
[7] §I, 10, 216; but see G, 11, 23 n. 22; G, 12, 54 n. 13; G, 23, 54f.; G, 24, 350f.

throughout his reign, which must therefore have been short.[1] It has been claimed that, because his successors each had a queen, they, with Alluwamnash and Kharapshekish, must represent three generations;[2] but this does not necessarily follow, for in troubled times a *tawannannaš* might be succeeded by her sister-in-law, as occurred in the case of Kali, the queen of Murshilish I. Their filiation is quite unknown.

Arnuwandash is followed immediately in the lists by the wives and children of Shuppiluliumash. This section of the lists thus forms the bridge between the Old Kingdom and the Empire, to be described in later chapters. The period has come to be known, for no very adequate reason, as the Middle Kingdom.

The moderate successes achieved by Telepinush, especially the friendly relations which he established with Kizzuwadna, appear to have been shortlived. During the reigns of his successors the power of Mitanni reached its peak under Saustatar and a Mitannian empire became established over the whole of northern Syria.[3] Kizzuwadna, it seems, again became subject to Mitanni, for we have the record of a lawsuit brought before Saustatar by Niqmepa, king of Alalakh, against a certain Shunashshura, who, from his name alone, is thought to have been a king of Kizzuwadna, predecessor of the king of the same name who concluded a well-known treaty with Shuppiluliumash.[4] Such a lawsuit implies a vassal relationship of both parties to the Mitannian king.[5] This situation must have lasted throughout the reigns of Alluwamnash and Khantilish II; but under Zidantash II, apparently, Hittite fortunes again began to rise. As already mentioned, we assign to him the treaty of peace concluded by one of his name with a king of Kizzuwadna named Pelliya (II)[6] (the

[1] G, 11, 21, The case of Khuzziyash I is similar.

[2] G, 12, 57.

[3] On the date of Saustatar, one generation after Parattarna, see *C.A.H.* I[3], pt. 1, pp. 289 f., and §11, 21, 284 n. 4. If so, it must be accepted that *a-bu a-ba a-bi-ia* in §11, 29, 38, l. 8 means no more than 'my ancestor'; see §11, 21, 285 f. n. 4, against G, 12, 66 n. 138 and §11, 15, 168 n. 47. This is no more difficult than to suppose that Kurtiwaza (see *C.A.H.* II[3], pt. 2, ch. XVII, sect. III) was mistaken about the number of generations involved.

[4] G, 29, no. 14 and p. 7.

[5] For this very reason the two fragments of Hittite treaties with a Shunashshura (G, 21, nos. 36 b. and 94) can hardly be assigned to this king, for the subordinate partner was always required to renounce his right to an independent foreign policy. Cf. §1, 15, 121 f.; G, 12, 72; G, 18, 46; G, 28, 31 f. (Goetze); §11, 24, 242 ff.

[6] See above, p. 661. It should perhaps be mentioned here that if, after all, the more usual dating of the Mitannian Empire of Parattarna and Saustatar to the second half of the fifteenth century should prove to be correct (e.g. G, 12, 66 ff.; §11, 15,

use in it of the royal title 'My Sun' points to a later period than that of Zidantash I, though it is still the earliest instance of the usage).[1] The only clauses preserved consist of mutual agreements to restore certain towns (unnamed) captured in the preceding war and not to rebuild others which had been destroyed; but if the document is rightly assigned, we may infer that Zidantash waged a successful war, resulting in the return of Kizzuwadna to the Hittite camp. The moment was indeed favourable for him. This is the time when Egyptian armies under Tuthmosis III began again to establish their ascendancy in Syria and to drive back the Mitannian forces to the east of the Euphrates. The reassertion of Egyptian power could only be of advantage to the Hittites at this time, and so it was that a Hittite king—presumably Zidantash or Khuzziyash—is reported to have sent tribute to the pharaoh on his return from the great Syrian campaign of his thirty-third year, 1471 B.C. Eight years later the tribute was renewed.[2]

It must have been at approximately this time that the kings of Khatti and Egypt drew up an agreement over the transfer of some of the population of the northern city of Kurushtama into Egyptian territory. This 'treaty' is twice referred to in later documents as the earliest bond of friendship between the two countries, but the circumstances surrounding its conclusion are obscure.[3]

Between Khuzziyash II and Shuppiluliumash we have to place not only the couples Tudkhaliash–Nikkal-mati and Arnuwandash–Ashmu-Nikkal but also at least one other king, possibly two or more. The evidence is inconclusive and at the time of writing it is not possible to reconstruct a line of kings which has any claim to finality.

The Arnuwandash of the king-lists and his queen, Ashmu-Nikkal, figure in a number of contemporary documents. Their seal is impressed on a land deed which is undoubtedly older than Shuppiluliumash on archaeological grounds, as is another seal impression bearing the name of the queen alone.[4] *Both* appear to have been children of Tudkhaliash and his queen,

168 n. 47), it would be possible to equate this Pelliya with the partner of Idrimi. But it is difficult to believe that this Hurrian empire could have flourished at the very time when Tuthmosis III was in control of most of Syria without some reference to the Egyptians appearing in the Alalakh tablets.

[1] G, 17, 116 f.; G, 13, 88 f.

[2] §II, 3, sects. 485 and 525; §II, 15, 152 and 173 n. 144.

[3] G, 16, 60 ff.; §II, 10, 209 ff.; §II, 14, 98; §II, 15, 164.

[4] §II, 13, 33; §II, 11, 71; §II, 26, 234 ff.; G, 12, 58.

Nikkal-mati[1]—hardly a case of brother–sister marriage, in view of the concise statement in a later treaty that such marriages were forbidden, but one which suggests rather that in certain circumstances the queenship might pass to some one other than the king's wife.[2] They are associated on the documents with one Tudkhaliash the *tuḫkantiš*, probably 'heir designate'[3] and son of Arnuwandash, who appears to have succeeded his father as king, if an allusion to a Tudkhaliash who ascended the throne of his father Arnuwandash may be taken to refer to him rather than to a king at the end of the empire.[4] We therefore enter his name conjecturally in the line of kings, assuming an omission in the king-lists. Another son, Ashmi-Sharruma, evidently did not come to the throne:[5] this would require a special explanation if Tudkhaliash was not his elder brother.

The preamble to the treaty between Murshilish II and Talmi-Sharruma of Aleppo, where the previous relations of the contracting parties are briefly summarized,[6] mentions, between Murshilish I and Shuppiluliumash, a Tudkhaliash and a Khattushilish, without indicating their relationship either to each other or to the latter's successor. The text describes dealings between this Khattushilish and countries such as Mitanni, Ashtata and Nukhashshe, which did not exist before the fifteenth century B.C., and cannot therefore be referring back to events in the time of Khattushilish I, as has been proposed.[7] This Khattushilish (II) must therefore be included in the line of kings. Whether the Tudkhaliash who precedes him in the treaty is the father of Arnuwandash or the former *tuḫkantiš* of the texts has yet to be determined.

A work entitled 'The Deeds of Shuppiluliumash' composed by his son, Murshilish II, has been reconstructed out of many fragments.[8] It begins in the time of the father of Shuppiluliumash,

[1] §11, 13, seals 60 and 77; G, 12, 57, n. 52.

[2] G, 15, 387 n. 27; §11, 13, 37. But cf. G, 6, vol. III, 231; A, 24, 105; A, 12, 39 n. 90.

[3] The objection to this translation of *tuḫkantiš* (cf. §11, 28, 37) is no longer valid, since *K.Bo.* IV, no. 10 has been proved to belong to the reign of Tudkhaliash IV (A, 20, 40 ff.).

[4] G, 12, 58 n. 60; G, 20, 8–10; cf. A, 5, 30. The fact that we have a late copy of the text in question does not prove anything about the date either of the original text or of the succession of Tudkhaliash son of Arnuwandash mentioned in the colophon.

[5] G, 23, 66 (List 'C', 6) and 55–6.

[6] §11, 9, 59 ff.; §11, 17, 213 ff.

[7] So A, 24, 110 f. Cf. A, 10, 74; A, 28, 107.

[8] Edited in §11, 14.

described as 'my grandfather', but the name of the grandfather is nowhere mentioned except in 'Fragment 2', which contains the words 'Tudkhaliash, my grandfather'. It thus follows from the inclusion of this fragment in the 'Deeds' that another Tudkhaliash has to be entered in the line between Khattushilish II and Shuppiluliumash, for it is clear from this work that Shuppiluliumash succeeded his father directly.[1] Some confirmation of this may indeed be found in the 'affair of Tudkhaliash the younger', an episode of which we learn incidentally in a prayer of Murshilish II.[2] This 'Tudkhaliash the younger', who had apparently held the appointment of heir designate to the throne, was assassinated together with his brothers by a group of officers, including Shuppiluliumash himself, who had sworn allegiance to him. Had he been actually king, the text would surely have given him the title. Tudkhaliash his father, however, must have been king, and the natural assumption is that this Tudkhaliash was the king under whom he held his appointment and the immediate predecessor of Shuppiluliumash. Certain sacrificial lists which give the sequence Khattushilish–Tudkhaliash–Shuppiluliumash–Murshilish have also been adduced in favour of this view.[3]

It has recently been shown, however, that a genealogy of the later king Khattushilish III, which has often been misinterpreted, describes him as son of Murshilish (II), grandson of Shuppiluliumash, and 'great-grandson of Khattushilish, the great king, offspring of the king of Kussar, (who was) singled out by the gods'.[4] This, the only translation which is grammatically sound, can only mean that Shuppiluliumash was the son (and immediate successor) of Khattushilish II, and the evidence cited in the preceding paragraph needs to be re-examined. In fact there is no proof that 'Fragment 2' is part of the 'Deeds of Shuppiluliumash'; it contains some mutilated lines referring to Telepinush and a woman Harapshitish (a bye-form of Harapshilish?), which suggests that the 'grandfather Tudkhaliash' to whom it refers should be either the husband of Nikkal-mati or the *tuḫkantiš* and that the author of the text should be an earlier king than Murshilish II. The episode of Tudkhaliash the younger is also inconclusive, for it does not necessarily follow from the text that the assassination resulted immediately in the accession of Shuppiluliumash. The latter may have acted in the interests of his father, perhaps a

[1] §11, 14, 120.
[2] §11, 10, 164 ff. The text is damaged and many details are obscure.
[3] G, 23, 58.
[4] A, 10, 75.

younger brother of the older Tudkhaliash. Or alternatively, if the heir designate were a minor at the time of his father's death, it is possible that his uncle might have been accepted as king in his place, though there is nothing in the law of Telepinush (above, p. 669) explicitly covering such a case; the assassination would then have served to secure the accession of Shuppiluliumash himself on the death of his own father, Tudkhaliyash in the mean time having come to manhood. Thirdly, the sacrificial lists do not necessarily cite consecutive kings. Arnuwandash, who intervened between Shuppiluliumash and Murshilish II, is certainly omitted, and it is more than likely that the earlier kings Khattushilish and Tudkhaliash in these lists are the same two great monarchs of Hittite history, Khattushilish I and Tudkhaliash, whose names precede that of Khattushilish II in the Aleppo treaty.[1]

Other evidence, once regarded as fundamental in this problem, has been invalidated by the discovery of a second Shuppiluliumash (written *Šu-up-pí-lu-li-ia-ma-aš*) who reigned at the very end of the Empire.[2] Within the walls of Boğazköy itself there stands a badly weathered hieroglyphic inscription carved on the face of the rock and known today as the Nişantaş.[3] It is an inscription of a Shuppiluliumash, and though the purport of its text can no longer be read, it is at least clear that it opens with the genealogy 'Shuppiluliumash, son of Tudkhaliash, grandson of Khattushilish'. Recent study of this inscription has shown that the further generation 'great-grandson of Tudkhaliash', which was formerly thought to follow here, was in reality a misreading.[4] Without it the genealogy tallies exactly with the known ancestry of Shuppiluliumash II, who was son of Tudkhaliash IV and grandson of Khattushilish III, and it has now been shown that the more elaborate 'aedicula' enclosing the name of the author, Shuppiluliumash, proves that the inscription must be assigned to the later king, rather than to his illustrious predecessor, as was formerly supposed.[5] Similarly a document stating that 'Shuppiluliyama' was preceded on the throne by his brother is certainly to be assigned to Shuppiluliumash II and has no bearing on the issue.[6]

[1] So A, 24, 111 and A, 10, 77.
[2] §11, 20, 70 ff.; G, 12, 57.
[3] §11, 1, 63–4 and pl. 25.
[4] A, 9, 81.
[5] A, 22, 227–30.
[6] G, 23, 55 ff.; §11, 11, 68; §11, 20, 74 ff. Yet the brother still appears in the scheme advocated by A. Kammenhuber in A, 12, 41 ff.

We opt therefore, with some reserve, for the following stemma:[1]

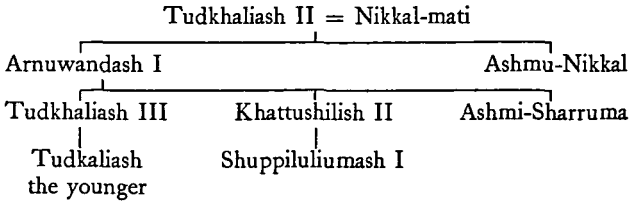


TABLE 3. *Descendants of Tudkhaliash II*

The name of the father of Tudkhaliash II is nowhere given and he may well have been the founder of a new dynasty. It is a well-established fact that the New Empire shows many significant changes in the character of the monarchy.[2] The peculiar democratic (or oligarchic) institutions of the Old Kingdom are no longer found; the authority of the king appears to be absolute, conforming to a more 'oriental' pattern. Above all, it has now been demonstrated that the dynasty exhibits strongly Hurrian characteristics. The gods of the (royal) house appear in a Hurrian context with a Hurrian singer.[3] The *interpretatio hurritica* of the Anatolian pantheon so strikingly and uniquely embodied in the sculptures of Yazilikaya[4] and the proliferation of Hurrian cults under the later kings can be attributed to the same cause. The army of the empire, which owed much of its strength to its proficiency in chariot-warfare, had adopted an elaborate régime of horse-training laid down by a Hurrian named Kikkuli.[5] Many of the later kings, queens and princes are even known to have borne Hurrian personal names; such a name would be replaced by a Hittite 'throne-name' when a prince succeeded or was appointed to a kingdom.[6] Now the earliest of these Hurrian names are those of the queens Nikkal-mati and Ashmu-Nikkal and of the latter's son, Ashmi-Sharruma. Nikkal-mati could, indeed, have been a Hurrian princess, but it is difficult to believe that she alone could have been responsible for the profound penetration of Hittite civilization by Hurrian ideas under the empire. These features seem rather to point to a Hurrian origin for the dynasty itself. In any case, the names of their queens seem by their Hurrian character

[1] Following H. G. Güterbock in A, 10, 77.
[2] G, 13, 88 ff.; G, 28, 29 ff.
[3] G, 15, 388.
[4] G, 13, 142; G, 15, 391.
[5] G, 13, 119; G, 28, 29 f.
[6] G, 15, 386 ff.; G, 28, 24; §11, 14, 120 ff.

to link Tudkhaliash and Arnuwandash firmly to the dynasty of Shuppiluliumash.

The narrative of the Aleppo treaty states in effect that some time after the conquest of Aleppo by Murshilish I[1] the king of Aleppo defected to the side of Mitanni (also called Hanigalbat).[2] For this 'sin' Tudkhaliash, when he 'arose' (*i-lu-ú*),[3] attacked and defeated both Aleppo and Mitanni and made peace with Aleppo. According to the treaty with Shunashshura (II)[4] Kizzuwadna also 'belonged to the Land of Hatti' during the reign of the grandfather of Shuppiluliumash, and therefore by implication previously. The king of Kizzuwadna at this time might still have been Pelliya II, or alternatively his presumed successor, Paddatishshu, whose treaty with an unnamed Hittite king, in the Akkadian language, is extant.[5]

Syria was dominated by Tuthmosis III for the last 21 years of his reign, 1471–1450 B.C., and the Egyptians appear to have maintained their suzerainty there, if somewhat precariously, until about the tenth year of his successor, Amenophis II, *c.* 1440 B.C.[6] The Hittite resurgence under Tudkhaliash must have followed immediately on their retirement from the scene—if it was not already responsible for the revolt of Aleppo which took place on the accession of Amenophis II[7] (for it is not certain that Aleppo was ever again under Egyptian control).

This Tudkhaliash, moreover, evidently began the reconquest of the west, for he is said to have made war on Arzawa (the satellite kingdom of Wilusa remaining neutral).[8] The account of this campaign may well be contained in the so-called 'Annals of Tudkhaliash', a text which has hitherto always been attributed to the late king Tudkhaliash IV.[9] The appearance of a king of the

[1] See above, ch. VI, sect. IV.

[2] This defection is related as if it occurred during the reign of Tudkhaliash. But the event can hardly be anything but the earlier conquest of Syria by Saustatar, which would otherwise be passed over in silence. It is suggested that the verb *ittashar* be taken as a pluperfect (indicated by the asyndeton). The new fragment (§II, 17) has at last established the identity of Mitanni with Hanigalbat; cf. §II, 12, 72 ff.; G, 16, 26; §II, 27, 35 ff.

[3] Taken as evidence that he was a usurper in §II, 29, 82 n. 6; but the modern lexicons show that the verb can be used of any king.

[4] §II, 29, 90 (5–7); G, 8, 58; G, 10, 36 ff.; G, 12, 58; §II, 9, 66; §II, 11, 69.

[5] G, 21, no. 30; §I, 15, 112 ff.

[6] *C.A.H.* I[3], pt. 1, pp 229 f.; §II, 15, 155 ff.

[7] *C.A.H.* I[3], pt. 1, p. 230; §II, 27, 38.

[8] §II, 7, 50 (B 9 ff.).

[9] G, 21, no. 85 and 123 (8); translation in G, 8, 121 f. These pieces must then be separated from the fragment G, 21, no. 123(6), translated *ibid.* 120 f., which clearly belongs to the later period. Cf. *C.A.H.* II[3], pt. 2, ch. XXIV, sect. IV.

Hurrians at the end of this broken text has always been an enigma;[1] in the light of fuller knowledge we can say it would have been an impossibility at the time of Tudkhaliash IV, when the kingdom of Mitanni had been destroyed and its territory incorporated into the empire of Assyria.[2] The fragment describes four successive campaigns. Of the first only the end is preserved, containing part of a list of countries conquered. Among these are Arzawa and its satellites, Khapalla and the Land of the River Shekha, also Wallarimma, which has western associations. This could be the campaign referred to in the treaty mentioned above. The next campaign is directed against twenty-two countries which are apparently summed up in the following lines as the 'Land of Assuwa'. These names have been much discussed, especially the last two, *Wilušiya* and *Taruiša*, for which an identification with Ilios and Troia has been proposed,[3] with some plausibility. Obviously, however, if the text belongs to this early period, *Wilušiya* cannot be also identical with Wilusa, since this country is said to have been neutral at the time. Very few of the other names in this list occur elsewhere and none can be located with certainty. The comprehensive name Assuwa is generally regarded as the prototype of the Roman 'Asia', which is first attested as the name for a region in the vicinity of Sardis. Assuwa was almost certainly in the west. This campaign seems to represent the farthest penetration westwards of any Hittite king. During the absence of Tudkhaliash in the west the Kaska-folk rose and devastated the Hittite homeland. The king on his return to Khattusha was obliged to set out immediately against them and defeated them in a pitched battle at Tiwara (not located). This is the third campaign, which was completed the following year. After a year's interval, in which there was no campaigning, the king set out eastwards apparently to quell a rebellion in the country of Ishuwa, which was supported by the king of the Hurrians. Only a few broken lines of this passage are preserved, but it is clear that it led to the reconquest of Ishuwa, a country situated in the great bend of the Euphrates, south of the Murad Su (Arsanias).[4] Obviously this is not the same incident as that which occurred at the beginning of the reign of the Assyrian king,

[1] G, 1, 87.

[2] The credit for this observation belongs to Dr Edmund I. Gordon.

[3] G, 8, 105 ff., with earlier literature, especially §11, 2. Assuwa might then, after all, be the *'Isy* which sent gifts to Tuthmosis III (§11, 15, 290 and §11, 2, 11 ff.).

[4] G, 8, 40 ff.

Tukulti-Ninurta I, in which the Assyrians captured 28,800 Hittites 'from the other side of the Euphrates'.[1]

The 'Annals of Tudkhaliash' is only one of a large group of texts which exhibit certain archaic features of language and orthography. Hitherto this has been largely discounted as a criterion for dating, on the assumption that the scribes of the last decades of the Empire deliberately adopted an archaizing style. At the time of writing, however, there is an increasing tendency to backdate the whole of this group of texts to the fifteenth century.[2] If this movement gains general acceptance, Hittite history will be greatly altered, for the group includes such important historical documents as the 'Joint Annals' of Tudkhaliash and Arnuwandash,[3] the Indictment of the rebellious vassal, Madduwattash, in western Anatolia,[4] and the similar rescript against Mita of Pakhkhuwa, a trouble-maker in the far north-east.[5] They reveal Hittite kings claiming authority over wide areas of Anatolia, even over Alashia (Cyprus), an authority which is being eroded by adventurers whom the Hittites are unable to control. The present *History* cannot fully take cognizance of this development and treats these texts in the traditional way as reflecting the situation at the end of the thirteenth century, just before the collapse of the empire.[6] It should be noted, however, that if the higher dating of these texts should be eventually established, the reference to the activities of the 'man of Ahhiyā' in the Madduwattash text would become the earliest allusion to the Ahhiyawa people, usually identified in some way with the Mycenaean Greeks.[7]

The campaigns of 'Tudkhaliash' in Syria and the west in any case reveal him to have been an energetic and successful ruler. The question arises: was he the predecessor or (if the stemma here adopted is correct) the successor of Arnuwandash I? If the 'Joint Annals', which refer to the reign of Tudkhaliash, could be securely assigned to this period, it would be clear that the restorer of Hittite ascendancy, at least in the west, was Tudkhaliash II, since in this text his son, Arnuwandash, appears as co-regent with him. If, however, we disregard this evidence, we can only attempt to answer this question by comparing the political conditions under

[1] As suggested in G, 5, 160. Cf. *C.A.H.* II[3], pt. 2, ch. XXIV, sect. IV.

[2] So principally H. Otten (A, 23–5), O. Carruba (A, 2) and P. Houwink ten Cate (A, 11); opposed by A. Kammenhuber (A, 13–14).

[3] G, 21, no. 86. Cf. A, 11, 80; A, 16, 216.

[4] G, 21, no. 89. Cf. A, 25; A, 11, 58.

[5] G, 21, no. 88. Cf. A, 11, 58, 80–1.

[6] *C.A.H.* II[3], pt. 2, ch. XXIV, sect. IV.

[7] G, 16, 46 ff. *C.A.H.* II[3], pt. 2, ch. XXI (*a*), 27, with bibliography p. 38.

Arnuwandash, in so far as they are revealed by the few texts bearing the names of Arnuwandash and Ashmu-Nikkal. We learn from them that he too had trouble with the Kaska-folk and many of the central Hittite cult-centres were ravaged by the enemy.[1] However, the oaths of fealty sworn to him and his family by military commanders in the provinces of Kalashma, Shappa, Kishshiya, and other places doubtless in the same area,[2] and the elaborate royal seal by which state documents were ratified under the joint authority of the king and the queen, give an impression of order and stability. A fragmentary treaty thought to date from this reign on linguistic grounds records that the cities of Ura and Mutamutassa were subjected to Hittite suzerainty,[3] and another fragment is part of a treaty with the men of Ura themselves.[4] Ura was an important emporium for sea-borne trade with Ugarit and Egypt, near the mouth of the river Calycadnus.[5] It would seem therefore that the Hittites had at least regained control of part of the south coast of the peninsula. But these documents are silent about the situation farther east, in Syria, and about that in western Anatolia.

Now this period, when Kizzuwadna 'belonged to the land of Khatti' and the Hittite king was in alliance with Aleppo, is one possible dating for the treaty concluded by an Arnuwandash with certain individuals of Ishmirikka.[6] This curious document apparently records the resettlement of these men, natives of Ishmirikka, in various cities of Kizzuwadna,[7] prominent among which are Washshuganni, otherwise known as the capital of Mitanni, and Urushsha, a Kizzuwadnean border-town. It implies not only that Kizzuwadna had acquired part of the territory of Mitanni to the east of the Euphrates, but also that the whole country was under the effective control of the Hittite king. If this dating is correct, the conqueror of Aleppo (and presumably also of Arzawa) would necessarily be Tudkhaliash I. We might suppose that Tudkhaliash in defeating Mitanni actually captured its capital city and handed over the whole territory he had conquered to the king of Kizzuwadna with whom he was in close alliance. Yet this is not quite the impression created by the text. Kizzuwadna at this time, though friendly, was still powerful and independent

[1] G, 21, no. 277; translated G, 26, 399. New fragments: see G, 28, 43 n. 47.
[2] G, 21, no. 175; translated §11, 26, 223 ff.
[3] A, 15, xvi, no. 47; A, 23, 56–7.
[4] G, 21, no. 99; A, 18, 227; A, 23, 60. [5] A, 23, 58 ff.; A, 6, 48.
[6] G, 21, no. 87; G, 10, 43 ff. and 76 ff.; G, 12, 58; §11, 11, 70; G, 8, 53–4; A, 16. [7] A different interpretation is given in A, 16.

and it is difficult to imagine that the Hittite king could settle the people of Ishmirikka in its cities purely on his own authority; the matter would require the consent of the king of Kizzuwadna and would have been the subject of a special agreement or treaty. We are therefore inclined to concur with those scholars who would ascribe this treaty to Arnuwandash III, towards the end of the thirteenth century. At that time Kizzuwadna had long been incorporated in the Hittite kingdom and the second of the above conditions was thus fulfilled. Mitanni had also by then ceased to exist as a kingdom, and during a period of Assyrian weakness, following the murder of Tukulti-Ninurta I, it appears to have fallen for a time under the domination of the Hittites.[1] A well-known passage in the annals of Murshilish II is most naturally taken to imply that, on the disappearance of Kizzuwadna as a kingdom, its name came to be used as a mere geographical expression for northern Syria, including Carchemish.[2] The use of the name in the Ishmirikka Treaty could well be the same. The attribution of the treaty to Arnuwandash II, son of Shuppiluliumash,[3] is less probable, since at that time the treaties with the allied kings of Mitanni and Kizzuwadna would still have been in force.

The above considerations may eventually have to be discounted, for the Ishmirikka treaty is one of the group of texts with archaistic features.[4] It could then be adduced to prove that Arnuwandash I dominated an empire in north Syria and therefore the conqueror of Aleppo was his father, Tudkhaliyash II. If, however, as suggested, the text is to be regarded as late, we are left in doubt: the conqueror of Aleppo could be Tudkhaliash III (the former *tuḫkantiš*). We leave this question undecided.

We do not know what became of the kingdom of Mitanni during this period of its eclipse, but with the accession of Artatama I, *c.* 1430 B.C., its fortunes began to revive. In face of the upstart Hittite power the kings of Mitanni and Egypt drew together. The initiative came from Mitanni, towards the end of the reign of Amenophis II, in the form of a mission of peace, the like of which 'had never been heard of' at the Egyptian court 'since the time of men and gods'.[5] Subsequently messengers from the Egyptian court approached Artatama with proposals for a marriage-alliance, to which he eventually acceded, sending his daughter to become the wife of the young king, Tuthmosis IV, and so inaugurating a series of diplomatic marriages by which the two

[1] §II, 23, 6. [2] §II, 8, 307f., retracted G, 10, 19f.
[3] §II, 5, 85 ff. [4] A, 16, *passim*; A, 11, 61. [5] §II, 15, 161.

dynasties became linked in alliance. In the eyes of the Syrian princelings this new union tipped the scales against the Hittites and some time during the reign of Khattushilish II first Aleppo, then Kizzuwadna shifted allegiance to the king of Mitanni.[1]

The Hittite king was unequal to the situation, which rapidly deteriorated. We learn of this incidentally from the preamble to an edict of the following century.[2] The failure of the Hittites to restore the situation in Syria was the signal for a general revolt. The province called the 'Lower Country' (roughly the modern plain of Konya)[3] was invaded and occupied by the armies of Arzawa, as far as Tuwanuwa (Tyana) and Uda (Hyde). From the south-east the people of Armatana sacked Hittite territory as far as the city of Kizzuwadna, otherwise known as Kumanni, probably Comana Cappadociae.[4] This seems to imply that when Kizzuwadna went over to the enemy, Khattushilish had retaliated by seizing the city which gave the country its name, together with some territory in the Taurus; the location of Armatana is uncertain. The plain of Malatya, as far west as modern Gürün (ancient Tegarama) fell to the people of Ishuwa. The 'Upper Country' (the upper valleys of the Kızıl Irmak and the Euphrates) was overrun by Azzi-Khayasha, a barbarous country in the far north-east, so that the religious centre, Shamukha, became a frontier outpost.[5] The province of Kashshiya or Kishshiya, still securely held by garrison-commanders under Arnuwandash I, fell to invaders from Arawanna, perhaps in the north-west.[6] Nearer home, the Kaska tribes yet again sacked the cities of the homeland, reaching as far as Nenashsha (possibly classical Nanassos on the Halys).[7] Finally even the capital, Khattusha, was raided and burnt. It must have seemed the end of the Hittite kingdom.

The aggrandizement of Mitanni and Arzawa at this time is shown by the correspondence conducted by their kings with Amenophis III towards the end of his reign.[8] Tushratta of Mitanni, whose sister was already married to the pharaoh when he came to the throne, addresses him as his brother, that is, as an equal.[9] His first letter was accompanied by gifts of booty

[1] §11, 9, 60 ff.; G, 19, 61; G, 1, 26 ff.; G, 10, 36 ff. (5–7).
[2] G, 21, no. 58; G, 10, 21 ff.; §11, 14, 119; G, 1, 29 n. 1.
[3] G, 8, 63 ff.
[4] G, 10, 9 ff.; G, 8, 44; but cf. A, 16, 13 n. 28.
[5] See above, p. 664.
[6] G, 14, 46.
[7] G, 22, 35. For an approximate location of all these areas, see Map 6.
[8] §11, 18, nos. 17–30 (Mitanni), 31–2 (Arzawa). On the date of these letters see §11, 4, 7 ff.; §11, 16, 10 f.; §11, 15, 174 ff.; also *C.A.H.* II[3], pt. 2, ch. XVII, sect. 1.
[9] G, 18, 48.

captured by him from the Hittites.[1] The two letters in Hittite between the pharaoh and Tarkhundaradu, the king of Arzawa,[2] do not show the same familiar style of address, but they reveal that negotiations were in train for the dispatch of an Arzawan princess as wife to the Egyptian king, a union which would doubtless have resulted in relations similar to those subsisting between Egypt and Mitanni if it had ever come to fruition.[3]

For the story of the Hittite counter-attack against the invasions just described we are dependent on the 'Deeds of Shuppiluliumash' mentioned above.[4] Since this is not a history but a biography, it opens at the moment when the young Shuppiluliumash was first entrusted by his father with the command of troops in the field. Such was the genius of the man, however, that this moment of his 'coming to manhood'[5] was in fact the turning point in the fortunes of the Hittites, as is recognized explicitly in the edict of Khattushilish III from which the account of the preceding disasters has been taken. The biography does not mark regnal years, but we may infer that it covers only the last year or two of the reign, for the old king is already ailing. On at least two occasions he falls ill and is obliged to send out his son in command. Thus we have no means of estimating how many years the kingdom had survived the loss of its most important provinces.

Unfortunately the sections of the 'Deeds' which treated this early period when Shuppiluliumash was operating under his father's command are so badly mutilated that no consecutive narrative can be extracted from them.

The main scene of these operations appears to be in the north-east—the 'Upper Country'—and the war is directed against the Kaska tribes and Azzi-Khayasha. The town of Arziya is raided and recaptured. Shamukha is a base, to which prisoners are brought and from which sorties are made. Evidently the Azzian attack which made Shamukha into an outpost had been repulsed before the narrative opens. The Azzians at first avoid battle, but eventually their king, Karannish (Krannish) or Lannish, is forced to give battle at Kummakha, probably modern Kemah. The text breaks off here, but the battle must have resulted in a Hittite

[1] §11, 18, no. 17 (36 ff.). This letter may well date from before the accession of Shuppiluliumash.

[2] A, 26, 328 ff. (new edition of §11, 18, nos. 31–2).

[3] G, 1, 27 n. 1.

[4] See pp. 672 f.

[5] *šarā išparzašta*: see G, 10, 23 and G, 11, 24, l. 14.

victory, for it was the father of Shuppiluliumash who appointed the first vassal-king of Azzi-Khayasha, a certain Mariyash.[1]

References to other parts of the country are sporadic and disconnected. The town of Shallapa, an outpost on the road to Arzawa,[2] is attacked and burnt by the Hittites. Its recapture would have been the first step in the counter-attack against Arzawa, which still held Tuwanuwa. There is a reference to Mount Nanni, which cannot be located. More important is the passage describing the relief of the provinces of Kashshiya and the Khulana river. Kashshiya, as we have seen, had been overrun by the people of Arawanna; here, however, the enemies are the countries of Masha and Kammala. Since Masha has western connexions, this passage is a pointer to the general location of these countries.[3]

The section of the 'Deeds' which must have described the death of the father and the accession of Shuppiluliumash is lost. So short is the gap, however, that we may suppose the transition received only a brief mention in the narrative. None the less, the prayer mentioned above suggests that the death of the old king precipitated a crisis. This is the 'affair of Tudkhaliash the younger' which weighed heavily on the conscience of future generations. As already mentioned, the heir designate was assassinated by a group of officers and Shuppiluliumash was placed on the throne. The text is damaged and precise details are obscure, but the general situation is tolerably clear: an outstanding leader who had led the army to victory was carried to power by the military. Once in sole command, Shuppiluliumash showed himself not only a brilliant general but also a shrewd statesman of unusual ability. The stage was set for an expansion of Hittite power which raised the kingdom in one generation to a status of equality with the leading nations of the Near Eastern world.

III. TROY VI

The Sixth Settlement ushered in a new era distinguished by a culture of its own, with widespread innovations in almost all fields of human endeavour. Though some earlier elements evidently survived, a break with the past on the site is obvious and there can be no doubt that we must postulate the arrival of a fresh human stock. Whence the new masters came is still a mystery, but there is every reason to believe that they formed part of the movement that at the same time swept over the Greek

[1] §11, 7, 128–9 (53 ff.); §11, 6, 3. [2] See above, p. 662. [3] G, 14, 46 f.

mainland, overpowered the bearers of Early Helladic culture, and established Middle Helladic culture at what is taken to mark the beginning of the Middle Bronze Age. Progress and development in the two areas followed different lines. On the mainland of Greece the newcomers after a time came under steadily increasing Minoan cultural influence which ultimately in the Late Bronze Age gave rise to Mycenaean civilization. Their kinsmen who settled in the Troad, on the other hand, in their greater isolation clung tenaciously to their own way of life, which they maintained relatively pure and not fundamentally affected by foreign contacts, to the very end of the Sixth Settlement.

The Trojan branch excelled in architecture: three successive fortification walls were erected, each reconstruction surpassing its predecessor in size and magnificence.[1] The last, with a circuit of some six hundred yards, enclosed a citadel about two hundred and twenty-five yards long with at least four gates. The interior rose in a series of concentric terraces to the summit of the hill on which presumably stood the royal palace. The lower terraces were occupied by large, generously-spaced, free-standing houses, presumably the residences of the king's courtiers and favourite companions. Wooden columns set on shaped stone bases were a feature in many of these buildings. Great care was taken in the fitting and dressing of stone blocks especially in the fortress walls, and masonry in some sections almost attained the classical Greek excellence.

Another remarkable difference from the preceding settlements is represented by a cemetery which yielded remains of some two hundred cinerary urns, many of which contained the cremated bones of adults and the unburned bones of children. The cemetery, which lay outside the citadel and is attributable to the final phase of Troy VI, demonstrates that the practice of cremation was established at Troy at least as early as the beginning of the thirteenth century B.C.

Little metal has survived, but gold, electrum, silver and true bronze occur in competently executed ornaments and implements. Some of these together with objects of stone, ivory and bone were no doubt imported from Mycenaean centres; others may have been worked at Troy. Most of these pieces as well as the whorls and other objects of terracotta represent new types or forms that were rare in the Trojan Early Bronze Age. Grey Minyan Ware, which had no local antecedents, is the characteristic and predominant pottery through the whole life of the Sixth Settlement. At the outset it is virtually indistinguishable from the like ware of

[1] See Plate 131 (*a*) and (*b*).

the Helladic mainland, but modifications of fabric and shapes make their appearance in the later phases.

The layer of Troy VI in the central area of the citadel was almost entirely cut away in Hellenistic or Roman times when a broad open square was laid out about the Temple of Athena. Along the periphery, however, deposits of debris exceeding seventeen feet in depth have been found. Eight successive strata have been recognized and the chronological series of other objects and pottery they produced, showing gradual development and change, may be taken to establish the fact that the settlement lasted through a long period of time. For convenience it may be divided arbitrarily into an Early, Middle, and Late Sub-period.

External relations were principally with the Aegean. Imported Matt-painted Ware appears in the Early Sub-period and more commonly in the Middle. Mycenaean wares of Late Helladic I and II are found in the Middle Sub-period, and fabrics of Late Helladic IIIa become fairly numerous in the Late Sub-period, with elements of Late Helladic IIIb and Cypriote White Slip II Wares arriving before the end of the final phase. These correlations place the lower chronological limit of the Sixth Settlement some time within only a few years of 1300 B.C. The upper limit, which depends on the dating of Minyan and Matt-painted wares in the Helladic area, is not so closely fixed, but may provisionally be set at about 1900–1800 B.C., with the possibility of a considerable margin of error.

Although the Sixth Settlement was thus contemporary with the early and the greater part of the late stage of the Hittite Empire in Central Anatolia, not a single object of any kind whatsoever that can definitely be called Hittite has ever been recognized in strata of Troy VI, nor have any certainly identified Trojan objects yet been recovered in the Anatolian Hittite layers. This negative evidence is not conclusive in precluding the possibility that relations were maintained between the two areas. A trade route to Cyprus was open, and there may well have been communications with Central Asia Minor by way of Cilicia.

In its final phase, VI*h*, the Sixth Settlement was overthrown by a great upheaval which dislodged the superstructure of the fortification walls and evidently ruined most of the large houses inside the citadel. There is no evidence of an accompanying fire, and the disaster was surely the work of a violent earthquake, which probably occurred sometime in the first quarter of the thirteenth century.

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ABBREVIATIONS

Abh. Berlin (*München* etc.). *Abhandlungen der Preussischen* (*Bayerischen* etc.) *Akademie der Wissenschaften, Phil.-hist. Klasse*
Abh. Mainz. Abhandlungen der Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Math.-naturwiss. Klasse
Acta Arch. Acta Archaeologica
Acta Or. Acta Orientalia
Ägyptol. Abh. Ägyptologische Abhandlung
Ägyptol. Forsch. Ägyptologische Forschungen
A.I.A.R.S. Acta Instituti Atheniensis Regni Sueciae
A.I.R.R.S. Acta Instituti Romani Regni Sueciae
A.J. Antiquaries Journal
A.J.A. American Journal of Archaeology
A.J.S.L. American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures
Alte Or. Der Alte Orient
A.M.I. Archäologische Mitteilungen aus Iran
An. Or. Analecta Orientalia
Anc. Egypt. Ancient Egypt (continued as *Ancient Egypt and the East*)
A.N.E.P. The Ancient Near East in Pictures
A.N.E.T. Ancient Near Eastern Texts relating to the Old Testament
Ann. Arch. Anthr. Annals of Archaeology and Anthropology (Liverpool)
Ann. Arch. de Syrie. Annales Archéologiques de Syrie
Ann. A.S.O.R. Annual of the American Schools of Oriental Research
Ann. Inst. philol. hist. or. Annuaire de l'Institut de philologie et d'histoire orientales (later *Annuaire . . . orientales et slaves*)
Ann. Mus. Guimet. Annales du Musée Guimet
Ann. P.E.F. Annual of the Palestine Exploration Fund
Ann. Serv. Annales du Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte
Antiq. Antiquity
A.O.S. American Oriental Series; American Oriental Society
Arch. Anz. Archaeologischer Anzeiger. Beiblatt zum *Jahrbuch des deutschen Archäologischen Instituts*
Arch. Delt. Ἀρχαιολογικόν Δελτίον
Arch. Eph. (Ἀρχ. Ἐφ.) Ἀρχαιολογική Ἐφημερίς
Arch. f. äg. Arch. Archiv für ägyptische Archäologie
Arch. f. Keil. Archiv für Keilschriftforschung
Arch. f. Or. Archiv für Orientforschung
Arch. hist. dr. or. Archives d'histoire du droit oriental
Arch. Orient. Archiv Orientální
Arch. Reports. Archaeological Reports of the Society for Hellenic Studies
Arkæol. Kunsthist. Medd. Dan. Vid. Selsk. Kongelige Danske Videnskabernes Selskab, Arkæologisk-kunsthistoriske Meddelelser
A.R.M.T. Archives Royales de Mari (translation vols)
A.S. Atene. Annuario della scuola archeologica di Atene e delle missioni italiane in oriente

A. St. Anatolian Studies
Ath. Mitt. Athenische Mitteilungen, Mitteilungen des deutschen archäologischen Instituts, Athenische Abteilung
B.A. Beiträge zur Assyriologie
B.C.H. Bulletin de Correspondance hellénique
B.d'A. Boll. d'Arte
B.E. Babylonian Expedition of the University of Pennsylvania
Bibl. Aeg. Bibliotheca Aegyptiaca
B.I.C.S. Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies of the University of London
B.I.N. Babylonian inscriptions in the collection of J. B. Nies, Yale University
Bi. Ar. Biblical Archaeologist
Bi. Or. Bibliotheca Orientalis
B.M. Quart. British Museum Quarterly
B.P.I. Bullettino di Paletnologia Italiana
B.S.A. Annual of the British School of Archaeology at Athens
B.S.A. Egypt. British School of Archaeology, Egypt
B.S.A.W. Berichte der sächsischen Akademie der Wissenschaft
B.S.R. Papers of the British School at Rome
Bull. A.S.O.R. Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research
Bull. Inst. d'Ég. Bulletin de l'Institut d'Égypte
Bull. Inst. fr. Caire. Bulletin de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale, Le Caire
Bull. M.M.A. Bulletin of the Metropolitan Museum of Art (New York)
Bull. S.O.A.S. Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies
Bull. Soc. fr. égyptol. Bulletin de la Société française d'Égyptologie
C.A.D. The Assyrian Dictionary of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago
C.A.H. Cambridge Ancient History
Cah. H.M. Cahiers d'histoire mondiale (See J. W. H.)
C.C.G. Cairo Museum, Catalogue Général des Antiquités Égyptiennes
Chron. d'Ég. Chronique d'Égypte
Cl. Phil. Classical Philology
Cl. Rh. Clara Rhodos
C.-R. Ac. Inscr. B.-L. Comptes-Rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres
C.-R. Rencontr. Assyriol. Internat. Compte-Rendu de la 1re (2e, 3e...) Rencontre assyriologique Internationale
E.E.F. Egypt Exploration Fund
E.E.S. Egypt Exploration Society
Eph. Arch. Ephemeris Archaiologike (Ἐφημερὶς Ἀρχαιολογική)
E.R.A. Egyptian Research Account
Flles Inst. Fr. Caire. Fouilles de l'Institut français du Caire
Forsch. u. Fortschr. Forschungen und Fortschritte
G.J. Geographical Journal
Harv. Stud. Class. Phil. Harvard Studies in Classical Philology
H.U.C.A. Hebrew Union College Annual
I.E.J. Israel Exploration Journal
Ill. Ldn News. Illustrated London News
Inst. fr., Bibl. d'Étude. Institut français, Bibliothèque d'Étude (Le Caire)
Ist. Mitt. Istanbuler Mitteilungen, Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Abteilung Istanbul

J.A.O.S. *Journal of the American Oriental Society*
J.A.R.C.E. *Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt*
J. as. *Journal asiatique*
J.C.S. *Journal of Cuneiform Studies*
J.d.I. *Jahrbuch des deutschen archäologischen Instituts*
J.E.A. *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*
J.E.O.L. *Jaarbericht van het Vooraziatisch-Egyptisch Genootschap, 'Ex Oriente Lux'*
J.E.S.H.O. *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient*
J.H.S. *Journal of Hellenic Studies*
J.J.P. *Journal of Juristic Papyrology*
J.K.P.K. *Jahrbuch der königlich-preussischen Kunstsammlungen*
J.N.E.S. *Journal of Near Eastern Studies*
J.P.O.S. *Journal of the Palestine Oriental Society*
J.R.A.S. *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*
J.R.H. *Journal of Religious History*
J.S.O.R. *Journal of the Society of Oriental Research*
J.S.S. *Journal of Semitic Studies*
J.W.H. *Journal of World History* (See *Cah.* H. M.)
K.Bo. *Keilschrifttexte aus Boghazköi*
K. Chr. Κρητικὰ Χρονικά
K.F. *Kleinasiatische Forschungen*
L.S.S. *Leipziger semitistische Studien*
M.A.O.G. *Mitteilungen der Altorientalischen Gesellschaft*
Marb. W. Pr. *Marburger Winckelmann-Programm*
M.C.S. *Manchester Cuneiform Studies*
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Mitt. deutsch. Inst. Kairo. *Mitteilungen des deutschen Instituts für ägyptische Altertumskunde in Kairo*
Mitt. Inst. Or. *Mitteilungen des Instituts für Orientforschung*
M.J. *Museum Journal, University of Pennsylvania*
M.M.A. *Metropolitan Museum of Art*
M.S.L. *Materialien zum Sumerischen Lexikon*
M.V.A[e].G. *Mitteilungen der vorderasiatisch-ägyptischen Gesellschaft*
Nachr. Göttingen. *Nachrichten von der Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen, Phil.-hist. Klasse*
O.E.C.T. *Oxford Editions of Cuneiform Texts*
O.I.C. *Oriental Institute Communications*
O.I.P. *Oriental Institute Publications*
O.L.Z. *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung*
Op. Arch. *Opuscula Archaeologica., Acta Instituti Romani Regni Sueciae*
Op. Ath. *Opuscula Atheniensia. Acta Instituti Atheniensis Regni Sueciae*
Or. *Orientalia*
Or. antiq. *Oriens antiquus*

P.B.S. University of Pennsylvania. The University Museum. Publications of the Babylonian Section
P.E.F. Quarterly Statement of the Palestine Exploration Fund
P.E.Q. Palestine Exploration Quarterly
P.J.B. Palästina Jahrbuch
P.P.S. Proceedings of the Prehistoric Society
Prähist. Zeitschr. Prähistorische Zeitschrift
Proc. Amer. Philosoph. Soc. Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society
P.S.B.A. Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology
Publ. Inst. fr. Caire. Publications de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale du Caire
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Q.D.A.P. Quarterly of the Department of Antiquities of Palestine
R.A. Revue d'assyriologie et d'archéologie orientale
Rec. trav. Recueil de travaux relatifs à la philologie et à l'archéologie égyptiennes et assyriennes
Rev. arch. Revue archéologique
Rev. bibl. Revue biblique
Rev. d'égyptol. Revue d'égyptologie
Rev. du Caire. Revue du Caire
Rev. Ég. anc. Revue de l'Égypte ancienne
Rev. ét. gr. Revue des études grecques
R.H.A. Revue hittite et asianique
R.L.A. Reallexikon der Assyriologie
R.S.O. Rivista degli Studi Orientali
S.A.O.C. Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilization
Sitzungsb. Berlin (*München* etc.). *Sitzungsberichte der Preussischen* (*Bayerischen* etc.) *Akademie der Wissenschaften*
Soc. Prom. Hell. Studies. Society for the Promotion of Hellenic Studies
Soviet Anth. and Arch. Soviet Anthropology and Archaeology
Stud. Cl. e Or. Studi Classici e Orientali
Trans. Amer. Philosoph. Soc. Transactions of the American Philosophical Society
U.E. Ur Excavations
U.E.T. Ur Excavations: Texts
Unters. Untersuchungen zur Geschichte und Altertumskunde Ägyptens (ed. K. Sethe, later H. Kees)
Urk. Urkunden des ägyptischen Altertums
We.-Or. Die Welt des Orients
W.O. Wilcken, *Griechische Ostraka aus Aegypten und Nubien*
W.V.D.O.G. Wissenschaftliche Veröffentlichungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft
W.Z.K.M. Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes
Y.O.S. Yale Oriental Series
Z.A. Zeitschrift für Assyriologie und vorderasiatische Archäologie
Z.Ä.S. Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde

Z.A.W. Zeitschrift für alttestamentliche Wissenschaft
Z.D.M.G. Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft
Z.D.P.V. Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins
Z. Sar. Zeitschrift der Savigny-Stiffung für Rechtsgeschichte, romanistische Abteilung
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